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The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly

Vol. XXXI

DECEMBER, 1950

No. 3

The Changing Economic Background of American Race Relations

(July-December, 1948)*

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North Carolina College at Durham

A Perspective

A coverage of the economic background of American race relations must necessarily be highly selective. For instance, while there has been brought to public view evidence of peonage still existing on the turpentine farms of Florida and Georgia, these facts, in such a review as is here required, do not warrant as much attention as the movement for legislating a fair employment practice act in Ohio or the penetration of Negroes into the textile industry of South Carolina. Given the over-all moral climate in terms of which both the nation's economy and its general race-relations policies are proceeding, cases of the latter kind are more positively related to basic trends. Similarly, it is true that Negro labor still is more agricultural than industrial, and there are far more Negro women in domestic service than clerks in department stores. But, notwithstanding arguments that he ought to remain on the southern farm land, the evidence appears certain that, with improved farm technology and increasing southern industrialization, the Negro must be, and is being, incorporated into the nation's non-agricultural economy. The few pilot cases of integration which help facilitate this latter trend, accordingly, are in this review of greater moment.

Statistics which would show adequately the status of the Negro worker are difficult to obtain. Labor unions, employment agencies, employers, and governmental bureaus contend that they do not maintain or are eliminating racial designations in their records and procedures. We have been unable to determine, for instance, the number of Negroes in some of the more important unions. Employers in the slaughtering and packing industries, for instance, deny that they any longer have records

*This effort to order these concentrated factors and events which occurred within a very limited period of the recent past helped my students and me find our way in the study of a complex contemporary problem.

of employees on the basis of race. In some states and in the administrative branch of the federal government, it is now illegal for employment agencies, unions and employers to consider race, religion or national origin among their criteria for placement, participation, or employment, respectively. While this certainly augurs well for the struggle of minorities to escape the invidious consequences of racial or religious designations, it has made considerably more difficult the task of reporting trends. Likewise, our research experiences in industry give us some difficulty in trying to use fully the reports of unions and management. Some of the alleged up-grading of Negroes in industry or the reasons given in support of failure to up-grade Negroes, in the face of on-the-spot observation, are not entirely accurate.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the economic sphere of American race relations has become so intricately interlaced with such issues as housing, recreation, health, civil rights, international relations and general political action that it is difficult to ferret out and treat separately concerns which presumably are economic. At least it is felt that these are some of the circumstances which ought considerably to determine the perspective for describing the changing economic scene.

2. *Some General Trends*

Though general economic activity for the past six months (July-December 1948) has continued at an extremely high level with unprecedented production and profits, it is significant to note a fairly steady decline in the total labor force since June. According to the Bureau of the Census, there were 61,615,000 civilians employed in July 1948. This number dropped to slightly below 60 million in December. Many factors apparently were responsible, among which were the opening of school in September; the saturation of some manufacturing markets such as communications equipment, household machinery and leather; consumer resistance to high prices, particularly in luxury items; increased mechanization; summer vacations; a heavy seasonal drop of 700,000 agricultural workers; and the sharp decline in the number of housing starts.

In terms of dollars, the Departments of Commerce and Labor show a slight increase of weekly money wages, before taxes, in manufacturing industries over the \$49.29 high of 1947. However, the trend of a decreasing share of the national income paid in wages as against profits continued. Unskilled labor absorbed the great bulk of the employment decline and Negroes are predominantly unskilled workers. Wages in the so-called "Negro jobs" (domestic service, fertilizer manufacturing, lumber milling, tobacco factories, unskilled construction, etc.) remained low. The Department of Commerce in June announced the median annual earning of the southern Negro woman as \$400; the white woman received

\$1000. The national median wage for the 3,867,000 non-farm, non-white male wage-earners was listed as \$1,367, while whites of the same category were paid \$2,400. November labor market reports show these differentials remaining fairly constant over the past few months.

Largely because of State Fair Employment Practice Commissions and the Pilot Placement Project of the Nation Urban League, Negroes have enjoyed a wider range of employment. For instance, some of the major companies who began using Negroes in white-collar positions for the first time are the American Tobacco Company, R. H. Macy Company, Franklin Simon Company, Savarin Coffee Company, Saks, Thirty-fourth Street, Shaefer's Brewing Company, Unicorn Press, Safeway Stores, Mishkin Drugs, and Godfrey Block Textiles, Inc. As this is being written reports are reaching us of other major concerns (department stores, moving picture houses, etc.) which are beginning to use Negro white-collar workers for the first time.¹

The broadening base of Negro employment and the relatively critical period for unskilled Negro labor are certainly two of the several important trends of which we must take account. In order to present a clearer picture, however, it may be well to consider separately and in some detail the minorities' role in agriculture, the "southern drive," general union activity, management policy and practice, legislation and the courts, pressure groups, and governmental (national, state and local) practices.

3. *Agricultural Workers*

The need for cotton pickers to harvest the largest cotton crop in eleven years and the demand for farm workers in California to gather fruit have highlighted the agricultural labor market during the past year.

Cotton growers, together with agents of the various state employment services are almost frantically engaged in efforts to secure cotton pickers. In Mississippi intensive efforts are being made to secure workers from Texas, migrants from the Great Lakes Area, and Mexican Nationals. In Georgia, where peanut growers outbid cotton planters for harvest hands, cotton growers are exploiting every possible source of labor supply.

Cotton growers in the southwest and far west also feel the pinch and are competing with Delta growers for much needed additions to their work forces. Texas considers its over-all labor supply adequate, but faces the problem of re-directing it to major cotton-picking areas. Missouri, which needs 100,000 cotton workers, has requested assistance from Indiana, Michigan, Texas and Wisconsin. Even Arkansas, generally a supply state, is hopeful that it can secure a minimum of 10,000 Texas and 13,500 Mexican workers.²

¹*New York Times*, October 20, 1948.

²*Labor Market*, U. S. Dept. of Labor, October 1948, p. 8.

There is some evidence that landlords on the cotton plantations are having considerable difficulty with Negro sharecroppers. The problem seems to be two-fold: first, Negroes are moving about and cannot be depended upon to remain with their work. Migration from rural to urban South continues. Second, there are arising disputes as to the respective shares which landlord and cropper are to be awarded. In Little Rock, Arkansas, for instance, two Negro sharecroppers won the first round of a \$103,000 suit brought against their landlords when U. S. Judge Harry Lemley ruled that federal jurisdiction in the case obtained. Hawkins had been seriously beaten by his landlord in a dispute over sharecropping arrangements.

The Workers Defense League, in reviewing the case, commented:

This is not the only case of its kind . . . Field workers have unearthed evidence of other grave injustices in this and other areas where men and women are still held in peonage and slavery. Vigilant investigation of all such evidence and immediate legal action as soon as victims are removed to safety are the answer to violence and terror, peonage and slavery.³

Agricultural workers are not effectively unionized. The Farmers Labor Union has not successfully appealed to the masses of agricultural workers in the view of informed observers. The urban industrial areas of the South, where southern organized labor has its power, constitutes the lesser population.

Organized labor took the position that if it was to elect President Truman, it must enlist the interest and support of the farm vote. During the past six months, therefore, an unprecedented "educational program" in farm areas was launched by organized labor. The annual reports of the A. F. L. and C. I. O. are not released at this writing, but, if unofficial reports of southern labor officials are correct, this political action program reached thousands of Negro farm workers.

And so, with regard to minorities in agriculture, it is difficult to say. It does appear that during the past few months traditional patterns have been shaken. The successful and somewhat spectacular defense which a few workers have waged in and out of the courts, the increased bargaining power because of shortages in seasonal farm labor supply, the continued winning of suffrage, the political action programs of organized labor and other pressure groups—these and other factors have doubtless tended to make of the Negro farm worker a more self-conscious group. And when these developments are placed against the background of increased use of mass communication media and heightened mobility, it seems reasonably certain that the issues of Negro labor in southern agriculture have been brought into much sharper focus.

³Workers Defense Bulletin, Fall, 1949, page 1.

4. *The Southern Drive*

The drive of labor unions to organize southern workers has met with stubborn resistance and has precipitated considerable violence.

The highlight of the movement was its almost total failure to achieve what was perhaps its primary objective—organization of the textile industry. Textiles have always been unusually difficult to organize. In many cases the industries are located in company towns where the textile management controls the whole round of life of its workers. Churches, schools, and homes often are owned or controlled by the mill owners.

In addition to this fact, present organizers give two primary reasons for their abortive attempts to organize textiles: the carry-over of the total collapse which labor experienced in a similar effort some fifteen years ago and the Taft-Hartley law. This law, organizers contend, hurt the Southern Drive and organized labor everywhere because by it (1) strikers can be held ineligible to vote, (2) picketing can be restrained by injunction, (3) employers can petition for a collective bargaining election, and (4) the closed shop is banned.

Even if the organizing had succeeded, however, it would have meant very little, directly at least, to the southern Negro worker. Since the Civil War, relatively few Negroes have worked in this industry. The force of an old exclusionist policy along with (and partly because of) the fact that the majority of the white workers here are women explain the absence of a large number of Negro workers.⁴

Now, in the face of this failure, both the A.F.L. and C.I.O. deflected their efforts in the South toward a two-fold objective: first, organizing smaller-scale industries such as processing, small manufacturing and fabricating plants; and, second, electing Harry Truman with the end of repealing the Taft-Hartley law.

We have already indicated that this latter "educational program" perhaps did much to enliven the interest of southern Negro workers in current issues. On the other hand, the concentration of organizing efforts in the smaller industries has meant that, for both federations, a relatively (in some cases, absolutely) higher percentage of Negroes than whites were organized, primarily because of the larger ratio of Negro to white workers in these plants.⁵ Here again, it was not possible to secure precise figures by race; but from our conferences with competent observers and

⁴Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1944, Vol. II, App. 6, p. 1111.

⁵Organizers expressed the opinion that one factor accounting for the considerable success in organizing in smaller industries was the fact that in some of these wages and general working conditions are poorest.

southern organizers, we estimate the total new members organized in all southern industry during the past six months to be approximately 65 per cent white and 35 per cent Negro.

By the time of the conventions, then, both unions were able to report a moderately successful year for the Southern Drive.*

With the election of President Truman, the Southern Drive took a new lease on life. Organizers report that management has tended to reverse its attitude and quite often is coming to the conference table to seek the arrangement of union-management bargaining relations. With the anticipated repeal of at least what are to labor the more irksome provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law, organized labor is poised with millions of dollars, a large staff of organizing specialists and a more congenial working relationship with press and radio—poised to launch the most energetic organizing drive in the history of southern labor. Inadvertently, this must mean that the economic fulcrum of American race relations will be wheeled more directly into the main stream of public thought and action.

5. *Unions*

Labor unions are guilty of discriminatory labor practices. Six per cent of the complaints received by the FEPC were made against unions, and the FEPC states that when challenged, private industry eliminated discrimination much more readily than did unions. On the other hand, it should be noted that great strides have been made in the admission of minorities to unions.[†]

Though written more than two years ago, the above quotation, so far as we can determine, describes quite accurately the status and progress of race relations within organized labor as obtained during these months. There is still racial and religious discrimination within the ranks of organized labor; considerable resistance of the integration of minority labor into unions is still being waged; and there are areas in organized labor where significant progress toward integration has been realized.[‡]

*Philip Murray, "Report to the CIO," *Tenth Constitutional Convention Proceedings*, November, 1948, p. 34.

[†]*To Secure These Rights*, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947, p. 59.

[‡]Russell R. Lasley, a Negro, was elected international vice president of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, in the early summer replacing another Negro, Philip Weightman, in this position, and some few weeks later the New York Federation of Labor, AFL, elected for the first time a Negro, Thomas Young, as its vice president.

The record of the election of Negroes to important offices in unions is much larger though we have not made a full survey of the matter. In a personal correspondence to the writer, Mr. Willard Townsend observed: "At last Negro trade union officers are coming into their own as trade unionists rather than as symbols of the racial tolerance of their white brothers. The solid contributions being made by men of the caliber of William Oliver of the UAW-CIO, Philip Weightman while vice president of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers and now as a mem-

A carefully documented study of the increasing leadership being exerted by Negroes in labor unions is needed and would doubtless reveal much on trends toward unobstructed participation of American minorities in the labor movement. It seems fairly certain, however, that since the President's Civil Rights program and the Taft-Hartley Law, there has been widely spread throughout organized labor the credo that the economic plight of Negro and other minority labor is coterminous with and inextricably a part of the whole labor movement. Many of the unions, particularly in the South, have had a difficult time implementing this ethic into customary and legal practices, but, more than ever, the problem is being discussed.

There appear to be four major paths which organized labor has increasingly and deliberately pursued to effect a more equitable distribution of economic opportunities among all workers. First, and perhaps most important, unions pressed particularly hard for the complete acceptance of sound union practices. The importance of such a fundamental principle as seniority, for instance, was stressed. The problem of race in this way is handled obliquely, not as a matter of central importance, and is therefore less likely to carry the traditional overtones of prejudice and emotion.

Second, and again particularly in the southern craft unions, there was in the educational programs an effort to convince white union labor that economic equality does not mean social equality.

Third, Negro leadership and general Negro participation in the unskilled unions of the AFL, as well as in the industrial unions organized by the CIO, has been enlarged and encouraged under the competitive impetus for increased membership.

Fourth, organized labor has pressed the point that the history of race relations among workers has been one of bitter turmoil and conflict and should be forgotten in the interest of meeting the challenge of the common enemy—management. And in this way the problem of race relations among workers fades into the larger and more impersonal problem of

ber of the organizing and PAC staff of CIO, W. Richard Carter of the Executive Board of the CIO Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, and George L. P. Weaver of the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination are outstanding." And, of course, Mrs. Townsend's own recent achievements in the field of labor might also be mentioned. He served on the CIO Latin Affairs Committee and in that capacity represented the CIO as a delegate to the Cuban Confederation of Labor. He also served as the American member of a three nation committee from the World Federation of Trade Unions investigating economic conditions in the Orient. As a result of his work on that committee he was commissioned by General MacArthur to prepare a handbook for the Japanese trade union movement, a task which he recently completed. In addition, his services as secretary of the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination are recognized in all informed labor circles.

class relations between labor and management. At least this is what we interpret labor leaders to mean when they tell us they are "closing ranks."

There is little reason to suspect that the problem of race relations within the unions will take a drastically different turn. But it does seem to us that white union labor, as the need for unity within the ranks becomes pressing, is tending to effect a compromise in its own thinking about race relations.

Primarily because of two positions which Negro union leadership assumed in the past few months, Negro labor has significantly enhanced its "reservoir of good-will" with organized labor. In the first place, Negro trade unionists gave major support to the Truman candidacy in the recent election and stood uncompromisingly against early efforts to replace Truman by Eisenhower as the Democratic presidential nominee. In the second place, Negroes in the CIO stood with Philip Murray in his attack on Communists and this did much to prevent the labeling of black workers as Communists.

6. *Management*

There is no clear-cut trend in the attitude and action of management toward the use of the labor of minority groups. In those states where FEPC is operating, management has been somewhat cooperative, though not completely so. Compliance reviews by the New York Commission of its cases usually shows more Negroes or other minority group persons employed than at the time the cases were closed.

In other companies, however, there is evidence that management has maintained or increased discriminatory practices. The Screen, Office and Professional Employees Guild, CIO, issued in November the results of a survey which disclosed that only six Negroes hold white collar jobs in the film industry's New York Home office.

As was earlier indicated, however, the base for Negro employment is broadening. There have been more Negro radio disc jockeys employed in the past few months.⁹ Jackie Robinson was sponsored as a regular six-nights-a-week radio sports commentator at radio station WMCA in New York.¹⁰ The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad announced in June that "their policy of hiring only white persons as stewards and grill car employees has been abandoned."¹¹ The War Hawk Aviation Club is conferring with major commercial airlines in order that the Negro mechanics and pilots trained by the Army air forces

⁹Louisville *Courier-Journal*, October 17, 1948

¹⁰*Ibid.*, November 17, 1948

¹¹PM, New York, June 7, 1948

in World War II can be so employed.¹² Negro firemen, with Attorney Charles H. Houston in charge of litigation, are fighting in the federal courts for the right to pursue their work without discrimination.

In Grand Rapids, Michigan, the Negro-owned Victory Cab Company merged with the Yellow Cab Company, maintaining, in the process, all Negro drivers. Denver, Colorado joined the list of New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo, Albany, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Newark and Tulsa as some of the major cities where Negroes are successfully employed as street car and bus operators, and conductors.

The National Urban League reports increasing success in its pilot placement project aimed at integrating qualified Negro technical, professional, and administrative workers into American industry. Some twenty-five firms in Chicago now employ Negroes as personnel counselors and the demand for white-collar office and professional workers of various kinds has shown a notable increase during 1948. Expanding opportunity in a wide variety of clerical jobs in mail-order houses has continued.¹³

And so on the pattern goes. In order to get a clearer picture of employment in industry it is well to turn to a consideration of legal actions and government attempts to regulate discrimination, primarily through the medium of fair employment legislation.

7. *Legislation and the Courts*¹⁴

Judicial and quasi-judicial activities to date have been directed primarily toward efforts to protect the member of a minority who is on the *job* from discrimination thereon while statutory efforts seek to cover his rights *to get a job, to keep it, and to progress* on the basis of his technical qualifications without discrimination.

Within the sphere of coercive activity, no developments of final significance have occurred within the year 1948 either through judicial or quasi-judicial channels. Some jurisdictional questions have been raised in various pending cases involving the complaints of Negro railway fire-

¹²*New York Times*, October 3, 1948

¹³Report (to J. H. II) from the Director, Industrial Relations Department, Chicago Urban League.

¹⁴I am grateful to Mr. John Hope, Labor Relations Specialist, Race Relations Specialist, Race Relations Staff, Fisk University, for looking into relevant legal decisions and for consultations on the entire paper.

men against the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.¹⁴ The National Labor Relations Board has made some rulings directly or indirectly affecting the welfare of Negro workers.¹⁵ However, because of the uncertain status of the Taft-Hartley Act, on the one hand, and the absence of any new principles through NLRB rulings, on the other, it is not necessary to discuss these minor developments here.

With regard to the legislative "front," developments of primary significance have occurred in the administration of FEPC laws previously enacted and in the promotion of FEPC bills on the local, state, and national levels.

8. *Government Practices*

National: In the past two years the Federal government has made five fundamental strides toward realizing the full potential of the labor-force of American minorities.

The first fundamental step was a firm and explicit affirmation of national principle regarding discrimination in employment.¹⁶ And in conformance with this principle the Committee recommended: A "Federal Fair Employment Practice Act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in Government employment"¹⁷ be declared.

The second crucial step came July 26, 1948 in the form of an executive decree. On that date, President Truman issued executive order 9980 estab-

¹⁴In at least two cases involving complaints of Negro firemen against the B. of L. F. & E., the U. S. Court of Appeals has ruled that the district courts from which they were appealed lacked jurisdiction because such courts were not within the districts in which the headquarters of the B. of L. F. & E. was located. One of these cases was initiated by the Provisional Committee to organize Colored Locomotive Firemen and the other by the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen.

¹⁵F. W. Wint Company, 76 NLRB, No. 71 LLRM, 1242. Texas Pacific Motor Transport, 77 NLRB, 15. 21 LLRM, No. 1344; Tobacco By-Products Chemical Corporation, 64 NLRB No. 252. 17 LLRM 264; and Norfolk and Southern Bus Company, 76, NLRB, No. 76. Indirectly, the recent unanimous ruling of the NLRB that hiring halls in the maritime industry are illegal under the Taft-Hartley Act may significantly affect the opportunity of Negro ship and dockworkers. The non-discriminatory regulations governing the hiring halls of the National Maritime Union constitute a major tool by which this union implements its non-discriminatory policy. As a consequence, it is a means of assuring to members who are also minorities the full protection of their seniority rights in securing employment.

¹⁶In 1947 the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights contained the following declaration:

"A man's right to an equal chance to utilize fully his skills and knowledge is essential. The meaning of a job goes far beyond the pay check.

"Discrimination in employment damages lives, both the bodies and minds, of those discriminated against and those who discriminate. It blights and perverts that healthy ambition to improve one's standard of living which we like to say is peculiarly America. It generates insecurity, fear, resentment, division and tension in our society."

To Secure These Rights, op. cit., p. 3

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 167

lishing a fair employment practice commission to insure that racial and religious factors are outlawed in employment within the executive arm of the federal government.

The third important step came on August 12th in the nature of compliance with the executive order. At that time Acting Secretary of Labor John W. Gibson signed an order which set up an office and procedures to carry out the Presidential decree.

The fourth fundamental move was in the nature of enforcement. In Birmingham, Alabama, a local official of the United States Treasury Department was released because he refused to comply with the Presidential directive. The New York Amsterdam News reported the incident as follows:

A local official who refused to obey President Truman's executive order 9980 for fair employment practices in government agencies was discharged by the U. S. Treasury department last week.

Mortimer Jordan, who said that he could not possibly carry out the FEPC order, was told of his discharge in a letter from Secy. of the Treasury John W. Snyder dated Nov. 8. He was fired as of that date.

As a collector of internal revenue, Jordan had charge of an office hiring 350 whites and only one Negro. He had said he could not break the traditions of his state to end segregation in the office, nor could he hire any Negroes because there was not enough office space to separate the races.

Arthur Sartain, Jordan's assistant, has taken over his position. On assuming his new duties, he said:

"While I serve in this capacity, I will endeavor to carry out the work of the office in a manner satisfactory to the government and the taxpayers."

Secy. Snyder's letter of dismissal was written in answer to a letter by Jordan telling why he could not obey executive order 9980. It read:

"Your letter of Sept. 17 addressed to the commissioner of internal revenue has been brought to my attention. Therein you express your refusal to comply with the executive order No. 9980 of the President of the United States.

I have designated Mr. Arthur Sartain to be acting collector of internal revenue and directed him to assume the duties of this office at the beginning of business Nov. 9, 1948."

It was signed by Secy. Snyder.²⁸

And, finally, the fifth development which further staked out the trend toward fair employment of minorities in the American economy was the national election in which the victorious Democratic party pledged the enactment of a "Federal Fair Employment Practice Act prohibiting . . . discrimination in private employment."

State: At this writing six states have some form of fair employment legislation. They are Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey,

²⁸The New York Amsterdam News, November 20, 1948

New York, and Wisconsin. Considerable pressure is being exerted in other states for similar legislation. As time passes, such state legislation appears to be rapidly developing a tradition of success. Thus, Dr. Orville Jones, director of education for the Ohio CIO Council was able to argue: "It has worked elsewhere and it will work in Ohio. It must work in Ohio."

The consequences of these State Fair Employment Practice Commissions are certainly not to be under-estimated. Utilizing the methods of "conference" conciliation and persuasion, supported by legal sanctions when and if needed, the Commissions in most of these states generally use a dual approach in every complaint case.

1. An examination into the specific allegations for the purpose of determining probable cause or lack of probable cause.

2. An investigation of the over-all employment policies of the respondent for the purpose of ascertaining if there is a general pattern of discrimination. This procedure enables the Commission to extend the conciliation agreement in a given case beyond one or several complaints to all persons affected by the operations of the respondent. In a large plant, union or employment agency, thousands of persons may thus be affected by the final conciliation agreement. One complainant, whose case was satisfactorily conciliated by the agreement of the respondent company to exclude race, creed, color or national origin in the evaluation of applicants, referred to the result as one affecting 'tens of thousands of Negro workers' who have been barred from rising above menial labor by discriminatory practices.²⁰

In trying to picture more precisely the effect of these State Commissions, one might look at the statistics on actual cases handled for instance, by the New York Commission.

For the first nine months of the years 1946, 1947, and 1948 the number of complaints received by the Commission was as follows:

TABLE I^a
Complaints Received by Month and Year
(N. Y. State Fair Employment Practice Commission)

	YEAR		
	1948	1947	1946
January -----	16	21	23
February -----	36	30	29
March -----	28	44	32
April -----	23	61	43
May -----	22	56	18
June -----	22	27	41
July -----	18	22	43
August -----	7	8	16
September -----	19	28	25
TOTAL -----	191	297	270

^a*The Ohio State News*, December 4, 1948

^bAnnual Report of the State Commission Against Discrimination, New York State Executive Department, 1947, p. 12.

^c*Ibid.*, 1948

From Table I, it may be observed that the number of complaints filed is tending to decrease. However, the Commission points out that the suggested decrease in workload is more apparent than real, for, as can be observed in Table II, "although the number of complaints decreased, the number of respondents to be investigated remained the same, 168, in both 1947 and 1948. This situation occurs because of the presence of multiple complaints."¹²

TABLE II
Complaints Received and Respondents Involved
(New York State Commission Against Discrimination)

	1948	1947	1946
Complaints received -----	191	297	270
Different respondents in complaints received -----	168	168	195
New respondents in complaints received -----	141	146	186

More important is the record of the dispositions of cases which came before the Commission.

TABLE III-A
Complaints Closed by Finding of Probable Cause
(New York State Commission Against Discrimination)

	YEAR		
	1948	1947	1946
No probable cause found -----	286	134	133
Probable cause found -----	89	80	58
TOTAL -----	375	214	191

TABLE III-B
Complaints Closed on Basis of Employment
Patterns of Respondents Disclosed
(New York State Commission Against Discrimination)

	YEAR		
	1948	1947	1946
No discriminatory pattern disclosed -----	78	40	60
Discriminatory patterns disclosed and adjusted -----	108	109	97
TOTAL* -----	186	149	157

¹²*Ibid.*

*Excludes respondents against whom complaints were withdrawn or closed for lack of jurisdiction.

Although "probable cause" for complaint was found for only 89 plaintiffs in 1948, or 24 per cent, as indicated in Table III-A, it is more important to note that a general discriminatory pattern was disclosed and adjusted in 108 cases, or 58%, as indicated in Table III-B.

The work of the other state Commissions appears similar to that of New York, and, if this is so, it can be concluded that minority groups are enjoying measurably better opportunities in the labor market because of State Fair Employment Practice Commissions. In the words of Irwin Ross:

Two years of State FEPC's have done more to end job discrimination than 50 years of private agitation, good will conferences, educational campaigning . . . and you see the results every time you encounter a Negro usher in a theatre, a Negro desk clerk in a hotel, a Negro salesgirl in the lingerie department of your favorite store.²³

Local: The experience of the cities which have enacted fair employment practice legislation has been quite similar to that of the states.²⁴

The prestige and power of government intervention in the economic system on behalf of minority groups is undoubtedly of important consequence for the total society, for such a trend lifts the whole problem of economic discrimination out of the domain of private affairs into the full view of public concern and responsibility.

9. *Implications*

Social problems arise when the existing system of relationships can no longer satisfy what the people feel or believe to be their essential demands. Failing the given structure adequately to satisfy these demands a re-adjustment inadvertently occurs, usually incorporating into the institutional arrangement, if the need is sufficiently persistent, a new dimension of control. As Dr. Park once put it, "the new law and the new institution turn out to be a growth and evolution out of the institutions that preceded them. Finally, these new institutions get themselves fixed in the habits of individuals and gain the sanction of custom in the community. What was formerly new and revolutionary is now old stuff, taken for granted, no longer provokes discussion, has become a second nature of the community and is part of the mores. In this way issues that rise out of the mores are eventually brought back and incorporated

²³Harpers Magazine, October, 1947.

²⁴"FEPC helps business," release of Philadelphia Business' and Manufacturers' Committee for FEPC, 260 S. Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, 2 Pa. See also Report of Industrial Relations Consultant, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fisk University.

into the mores. It is only then that we can properly say that the political process is complete."²²

The economic background of American race relations is, of course, rapidly changing—in process, as we say. There are surely to be observed new alignments in our institutional arrangements which apparently are moving toward the unobstructed participation of minority groups in the general economic order. Events of the past few months have been but parts of basic trends far more abiding. The Negro agricultural worker is proceeding to pierce the industrial system; labor unions, sometimes rapidly and sometimes haltingly, are surely working minority groups into the labor movement on terms increasingly of parity. Organized labor in fact, continues to acquire the characteristics of a fully grown-up institution, helping the worker provide for and protect his total round of life—not only his job, but his health, housing, civil rights and arrangements for death. That movement continues and minority groups are fading into it. In like manner, management and the general society, in the courts as well as in the market-places of public discussion, are working through to what to them will be some satisfactory solution of what Myrdal has called an American Dilemma. Many of the institutional features of this solution that Park talks about have appeared. Governmental regulation of racial and religious discrimination, for instance, appears firmly entrenched and soon may probably be merely assumed. While, as Mr. Philip Murray insists, much remains to be done, it does appear that over the past few months much has been done in the way of staking out the course of action.

²²Robert E. Park, "Human Nature, Attitudes, and the Mores," in Kimball Young, *Social Attitudes*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, p. 42.

Group Banking in Dallas County, Texas

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During the past 15 years a question which once engaged the interest of many students of banking, the merits and demerits of multiple banking, has received little attention. This neglect perhaps reflects conviction that all worth saying on the matter has been said. Probably, also, scholars of money and banking consider the intricate problems of monetary and fiscal policy more challenging and more worthy topics for analysis because of the great significance now ascribed to them.

The multiple banking problem, however, has not been resolved despite comprehensive, scholarly treatments of the question. There is confusing variation among the states in the provisions which define the types of multiple banking which are permitted, and considerable difference in opinion still exists as to whether atomistic or multiple banking is preferable.

Thirty-five states now permit branch systems to exist under conditions varying from state-wide operation to operation only in the head-office city. In the remaining states, of which Texas is one, branch banking is not permitted. In them an alternative type of multiple banking, either chain or group banking,¹ usually has been developed to attain the efficiencies and other advantages of multiple banking.

Whether multiple banking shall be permitted and how it shall be regulated is left principally in the hands of the states. The National Banking Act of 1933 empowers national and state member banks of the Federal Reserve System to establish branches when permitted by the laws of the state in which the banks operate. No other direct federal limitation of branch banking is imposed, except that permission to change the location of a branch or to open a new one must be obtained from the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The Clayton Antitrust Act might be construed to govern chain banking systems which include members of

*Important contributions to this study were made by Ralph N. Norman and Rafael de Haro, graduate assistants in the Dept. of Economics, Southern Methodist University.

¹The generally accepted definitions are:

Branch banking—a bank as a single legal entity operates more than one banking office.

Chain banking—the operations or policies of a number of independently incorporated banks are controlled by one or more *individuals*—through stock ownership, common directors, or in other legal manners.

Group banking—independently incorporated banks are controlled directly or indirectly by a corporation, business trust, or similar organization.

the Federal Reserve System to the extent that the banks involved might be regarded as locked together through interlocking directors, officers, and employees. This construction has not been made by the courts, however, and it appears unlikely that under existing laws the federal government would exercise direct controls specifically over banking chains.

Federal powers over group banking are more specific. Group banking is not prohibited nor seriously limited. Despite statutory provisions prohibiting Federal Reserve members from purchasing stocks of corporations, member banks have devised legal means of dominating holding company affiliates, often by control over trustees or management. They also have retained stock control of affiliates acquired prior to the enactment of the prohibitions. The Banking Act of 1933 provides for examination of holding companies which control member banks of the Federal Reserve System. Such "holding company affiliates" are required to obtain permits before voting the stock of member banks within their control. The relation between the affiliates and the banks is subject to careful supervision, but this condition apparently has not deterred organization of group systems, or restricted their growth.

Such limitations upon the extent of multiple banking as exist are state imposed. They vary surprisingly among the states.²

Relative to branch banking:

- 13 states prohibit it or have no permissive statute.
- 7 states permit it in head-office city or head-office county.
- 9 states permit it beyond the head-office county, but not statewide.
- 10 states permit it statewide with special restrictions.
- 9 states permit it statewide.

Forty-two states have no laws pertaining directly to chain banking, and in them chain banking is permitted virtually without specific regulation. Laws pertaining to the holding of bank stocks by banks impose restrictions on group banking in most states, twelve states apparently intending to discourage group banking with their provisions; but thirty-six states have no restrictions applying specifically to development or operation of group banking.

The Texas Banking Code of 1943, repeating limitations of earlier codes, provides that:

²For a comprehensive statement see Cagle, C. E. "Branch, Chain, and Group Banking", *Banking Studies, Federal Reserve System*, 1941; and *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, October 1939, pp. 851-870.

"No state, national, or private bank shall engage in business in more than one place, maintain any branch office, or cash checks or receive deposits except in its own banking house."³

This is an effective prohibition of branch banking in any form, even excluding agency arrangements and detached tellers windows. Thus Texas is among the states with the most severe restrictions against branch banking. There are no specific limitations in Texas statutes against other forms of multiple banking. In this regard, Texas is somewhat more lenient than many states.

This leniency has permitted multiple banking to be conducted on a significant scale in the state. Although exact data are not available on all of Texas, it is well known that chain banking is common in several sections of the state, and that group banking has become important in several metropolitan areas. In Dallas, which in many respects is the banking capital of the state, group banking is particularly important.

The Structure of Group Banking in Dallas

Thirty-one commercial banks operate in Dallas County. Of these, fourteen are affiliates of one of three group banking systems.⁴ The largest group system, measured by total resources and number of affiliated institutions, consists of the Republic National Bank and eight other banks. The second largest includes the First National Bank in Dallas and two affiliated banks. The third consists of the Mercantile National Bank and one affiliated bank.

Tie-ins between the parent institutions and their affiliates are accomplished through stock control and interlocking director-officerships. The mechanics of stock control are exemplified by the organization of the Republic Group. Stock control of the affiliate banks in this group is exercised by the Republic National Bank through its holding company affiliate, the Republic National Company. The capital stock of this company is held in trust for the benefit of the stockholders of the Republic National Bank. The Company owns a substantial and controlling interest in the capital stock of seven banks in metropolitan Dallas, and a substantial interest, but less than majority control, of the capital stock of a bank in nearby Garland.⁵ Similar stock controls are exercised over affiliate banks by the First National Bank through the First National Securities Company

³Texas Banking Code of 1943, Art. 342-903.

⁴As of December 31, 1949. Since this article was completed, a fourth group system was created in Dallas.

⁵The description of stock control is summarized from the "Report to Stockholders of the Republic National Bank of Dallas, January 11, 1949."

and by the Mercantile National Bank through the Equitable Company of Texas.*

Interlocking officer-directorships provide ancillary and perhaps stronger tie-ins between the parent institutions and their affiliates.¹ The President and at least one other officer of the Republic National Bank serve as directors of its seven affiliate banks in Greater Dallas. The principal officer-director tie-in between the Republic National Bank and its affiliate in Garland is accomplished through a vice-president of the parent bank. The Chairman of the Board and the President of the First National Bank serve as directors of the two affiliated banks. Three top officials of the Mercantile National Bank serve as directors of its affiliate bank.

The control over administration and policies which the parent institutions exercise over their affiliates apparently is not as rigid as would be the case if the affiliates were branches. Each affiliate bank has its own directors and separate staff of officers. Rules relative to loans, personnel, purchases, and other matters apparently differ somewhat among the affiliates. Each bank is an effective operating unit, essentially independent of the parent institution. Nevertheless, the parent exercises considerable control. Common directorships assure coordination of important basic policies. The loan portfolios of the affiliates apparently are carefully scrutinized by officers of the parent institutions, and individual loan applications very likely are considered by a representative of the parent, who may be a member of the affiliates' loan committees. Loans also frequently are shared within a group. Advice relative to investment programs is given freely by the dominant bank, which also in some cases manages the investment portfolio of the affiliate.

*The banks in each group are as follows:

- a. The Republic Group
 - Republic National Bank
 - National City Bank
 - Oak Cliff Bank & Trust Co.
 - Highland Park State Bank
 - Greenville Avenue State Bank
 - Oak Lawn National Bank
 - Fair Park National Bank
 - State National Bank of Garland
 - Lakewood State Bank
- b. The First National Group
 - First National Bank
 - American National Bank of Oak Cliff
 - Hillcrest State Bank
- c. The Mercantile Group
 - Mercantile National Bank
 - Grand Avenue State Bank

¹Analysis of director-officer tie-ins is based on lists of officers and directors as of December 31, 1947.

Although the employees of the affiliates are not considered part of the personnel of the parent institutions, they may be included "informally" in their training programs, and some shifting about of personnel among the affiliates and between them and the parent institutions occurs. Several layers of personnel employed in the sub-bank may be previous employees and prospective officers of the parent institution who are conversant with policies and objectives of the parent and in accord with them.

In addition to these tie-ins at the top, other officers of the parent institutions serve as directors and, in several instances, as officers of certain of the affiliated banks, and there is some criss-crossing of officers and directors among the affiliates.

Interlocking of personnel also exists among the banks which are not members of the groups, with common directorships between the parent institutions of the three groups and unaffiliated banks; officer-director tie-ins among affiliated and unaffiliated banks and among unaffiliated banks; and an officer-director-tie-in between two of the groups. These relations probably do not reflect an attempt to expand the control of the existing groups or to build new groups, arising rather through personal interests, inherited or purchased. Their existence may facilitate coordination of policy among a larger number of banks than are formally members of a group, but does not assure it.

Factors In The Development of The Dallas Group Systems

The principal stimulus to the development of the powerful group banking systems in Dallas was the rapid growth of the city, which has created urgent needs for banking facilities in residential and suburban areas. These needs might have been met by branch offices and teller windows; but since state statutes prohibited such units, separately incorporated banks were required.

The large down-town banks were able to provide the capital and management for new suburban banks, and logically became the guiding influences and often the initiators in organizing them. The large banks' officers in a sense were compelled to take the lead in developing the new institutions. Had they not, competing banks almost certainly would have been established to serve outlying areas of the city. Thereupon the payrolls of large employers which the down-town banks were supporting might have flowed as personal deposits into the more conveniently located suburban banks, providing them with free deposits at the expense of the downtown lending institutions. In order to protect their reserves, the large banks perhaps found it advisable to establish close ties with the suburban institutions. Correspondent relations might have sufficed, but direct affiliation assured the desired relations.

The acquisition of affiliates also seems to have been motivated by desire to provide broader outlets for managerial talents and greater opportunities for development of officer personnel than a single large institution could offer. The aptitudes of executives can be tested, trained and rewarded more easily in several management families than in one. The compulsion to utilize the specialties and energies of an alert management group probably was an important factor contributing to the development of group banking in the city.

Another objective which might have been important was the desire to economize on use of capital and reserves. Since state requirements relative to minimum capital and reserves against deposits are more lenient than national bank and member bank requirements, economies in capital and reserves might be accomplished by organizing a network of affiliated state, non-member banks. An additional objective may have been the restriction of the area of competition for loans by limiting the number of independent banking outlets. Thereby some control over the structure of rates and the direction of credit might be accomplished. Whether these two last objectives were important is considered in the following appraisal.

The Effects of Group Banking Upon Banking Operations in Dallas County

The fourteen banks which are firmly members of the three group banking systems in Dallas through stock control and interlocking officer-directorships account for about 85% of the total resources of commercial banks in Dallas County.* The parent banks account for the majority of the resources of the three groups; but the affiliates are not small. The aggregate resources of the eleven affiliates are only about one-third smaller than those of the seventeen unaffiliated banks in the county.

Perhaps a better indication of the dominant positions the group systems occupy in banking in the county is the proportion of total loans and discounts for which they are responsible. The three groups account for nearly 88% of total loans and discounts in the county.* The total loans and discounts of the eleven affiliated banks are only about one-fifth smaller than those of the seventeen unaffiliated banks.

From the foregoing it is apparent that the group banking systems exercise considerable control over banking operations in Dallas County. Although the systems may and apparently do compete among themselves in serving the community, their positions relative to the unaffiliated banks of the county is such that they need not compete vigorously with them in establishing loan rates and other banking standards.

*As of November 1, 1949

An accompanying table presents selected operating ratios for Dallas banking groups. It reveals that the group systems maintain very large portions of their resources in loans, the parent institutions being more intensively "loaned-up" than their affiliates, and the group systems as a whole maintaining significantly larger portions of their resources in loans than the unaffiliated banks. This condition may be partly attributable to the larger size of the parent institutions. It also is traceable to the more aggressive lending programs which the group banks have followed, an aggressiveness attributed by officers of the groups to the intense competition in banking which prevails in the county. The large proportion of bank resources in loans also reflects basic economic conditions, including the large volume of cotton and other commodity trading in the city; the concentration of the banks upon oil-lease and other petroleum financing operations; the importance of wholesaling in the county; and the very rapid growth of trade and industry which has tended to tax the banking resources of the Dallas area. An important factor, however, has been the existence of the well-organized group banking systems. These systems, by concentrating resources, have been able to diversify loans and thus to support larger loan portfolios than might be considered desirable in a banking institution with smaller resources and greater concentration in loans with similar characteristics.

The ratio of capital accounts to total deposits in the group systems is higher than has been customary in most banks in recent years, and somewhat above the ratios of the unaffiliated banks in Dallas County. This condition suggests that the group systems in Dallas have not been organized in order to economize on capital, a purpose which perhaps frequently motivates organizers of multiple banking systems. The high capital to deposit ratios in the Dallas group systems arises apparently from desires to increase capacity to support large loans and to provide "growing room". Whatever the motivation, the high ratios provide desirable protection to depositors, and seem appropriate in view of the large portion of resources which the group systems maintain in risk assets.

From the foregoing it is clear that a result of the development of the Dallas group systems has been to limit the area of competition for loans, whether or not that was an objective of their organization. The small, unaffiliated banks apparently provide too small a proportion of total bank credit in Dallas to be effective in determining the cost of such credit. They are more likely to follow the leadership of the big three than to initiate rate cutting. It does not follow, however, that the development of group banking has eliminated bank competition in Dallas County. On the contrary, competition among the groups for loans apparently is aggressive, as the respective managements aver. Moreover, rates on loans in Dallas appear to be lower than rates in other large centers in the Southwest, although rate data on comparable loan classifications

are not available. Likewise, there is no reason to think that credit is dispensed with favoritism by the groups. The group systems, on the contrary, have reached a size where dispassionate rating of loans is virtually imperative, and such impartial evaluation apparently is the rule. It is concluded, therefore, that despite their size, the three groups have not destroyed competitive practices in bank lending in the county, although through collusion they might be able to do so.

Moreover, whereas the number of unaffiliated banks in the county has increased from eight to seventeen since 1939, the number of affiliated banks has risen only from nine to fourteen. In addition, the growth of resources of the affiliated banks has not kept pace with that of the unaffiliated institutions. This suggests that the group systems in Dallas, despite their great size and aggressiveness, have not chosen to limit growth of potential competition, or have not been successful if they have attempted to do so. It should be noticed, however, that despite their relatively slower growth, the group systems have retained their dominant position in the county, and are not seriously challenged by the unaffiliated banks.

The operations of banks in Dallas County relative to that of banks in comparable metropolitan cities in Texas is presented in Table III in illustration of the considerably more intensive utilization of resources in loans which characterizes Dallas banking. The significantly larger percentage of resources which is utilized in lending in Dallas possibly reflects principally the basic economic conditions referred to above. It probably reflects as well the effects of group banking in the county, which has placed bank resources under the control of officials who have extended their operations beyond the confines of their county and competed successfully for loans with banks in other metropolitan areas.

The foregoing evaluation of branch banking in Dallas County does not justify a definitive statement as to whether multiple banking is preferable to atomistic banking. It does suggest several conclusions which are salient to that question.

1. Despite the prohibitions against branch banking in Texas statutes, effective multiple banking systems have been organized.
2. These systems, if those in Dallas are representative, are able to achieve coordination of policies among a large number of banks. Probably, however, they are not able to effect all of the savings in officer personnel and administration which would be possible under branch banking, since they must maintain essentially independent institutions.
3. The systems have become dominant in Dallas, and the unaffiliated banks are not large enough to challenge their position. Nevertheless, entry of new independent banks has not been prevented. Vigorous competition between unaffiliated and group banks probably does

not exist, but complete dominance of banking by the groups has not developed. Moreover, they have restricted their operations principally to the metropolitan district, showing little disposition to assimilate banks in the county or outside the county limits.

From the foregoing it is concluded that group banking has been carried on rather circumspectly in Dallas County, apparently being devised to achieve desirable economies and acceptable extensions of banking operations. There seems to have been little or no intent on the part of the leaders of the Dallas groups to extend their systems purely to increase their dominance. It does not follow that existence of the groups does not reduce the area of competition in Dallas County, but there is competition among the groups and between them and unaffiliated banks in the county. This competition probably has increased during the past decade.

The performance of group banks in Dallas suggests that the limitations upon multiple banking in Texas laws are unrealistic. Despite their strong prohibitions against branch banking, effective, large-scale multiple banking has developed. Moreover, considerations of efficiency rather than statutory limitations prevent development of multiple banking beyond county confines. A revision of the state's governing regulations is in order to take account of realities and to permit achievement of the efficiencies of multiple banking which best can be attained under branch operations.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF SELECTED ACCOUNTS OF GROUP
BANKING SYSTEMS IN DALLAS COUNTY,
NOVEMBER 1, 1949
(in thousands of dollars)

	REPUBLIC GROUP	FIRST NATIONAL GROUP	MERCANTILE GROUP	TOTAL THREE GROUPS	TOTAL UNAFFILIATED BANKS			
	REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANK	EIGHT AFFILIATED BANK	First NATIONAL BANK	Two AFFILIATED BANK	MERCANTILE NATIONAL BANK	ONE AFFILIATED BANK		
Total Resources -----	\$340,814	\$92,352	\$322,606	\$21,382	\$219,497	\$8,251	\$1,004,902	\$175,190
Total Loans & Discounts -----	143,967	41,882	130,480	5,520	96,826	2,830	421,505	60,538
Total Capital Accounts -----	31,379	6,325	24,930	1,193	14,901	455	79,183	10,275
Total Deposits -----	305,513	86,023	297,673	20,189	204,574	7,796	921,768	164,795
Capital Accounts to Total Deposits -----	10.2%	7.3%	8.3%	5.9%	7.2%	5.8%	8.5%	6.2%
Total Loans and Discounts to Total Resources -----	42.2%	45.3%	40.4%	25.8%	44.1%	34.2%	41.9%	34.5%

TABLE II
GROWTH OF GROUP AND INDEPENDENT BANKS IN DALLAS
COUNTY, 1939 - 1949
(in thousands of dollars)

	TOTAL ALL BANKS		TOTAL THREE GROUP SYSTEMS		TOTAL UNAFFILIATED BANKS	
	1939	1949	1939	1949	1939	1949
Number of Institutions -----	17	31	9	14	8	17
Total Resources -----	\$348,864	\$1,180,092	\$307,426	\$1,004,902	\$41,438	\$175,190
Total Loans and Discounts -----	125,057	482,043	116,000	421,505	9,057	60,538
Total Capital Accounts -----	31,001	89,458	27,635	79,183	3,316	10,275
Total Resources -----	216,253	1,086,563	278,205	921,768	38,048	164,795
PERCENT AGE CHANGE:						
1939 - 1949						
Total Resources -----		+238.2%		+226.8%		+322.7%
Total Loans & Discounts -----		+285.4%		+263.3%		+568.4%
Total Capital Accounts -----		+188.5%		+186.0%		+209.8%
Total Deposits -----		+243.5%		+231.3%		+333.1%
Capital Accounts to Total Deposits -----	9.8%	8.2%	9.9%	8.6%	8.7%	6.2%
Total Loans and Discounts to Total Resources -----	35.8%	40.8%	37.7%	41.9%	21.8%	34.5%

TABLE III
COMPARISON OF SELECTED BANKING ACCOUNTS IN TEXAS CITIES,
November 1, 1949

(in thousands of dollars)

CITY ¹	TOTAL RESOURCES	TOTAL LOANS & DISCOUNTS	TOTAL ACCOUNTS	TOTAL DEPOSITS	CAPITAL ACCOUNTS TO DEPOSITS	LOANS & DISCOUNTS TO RESOURCES
Austin	\$ 130,753	\$ 26,712	\$ 6,755	\$ 123,834	5.4%	20.4%
El Paso	152,686	62,417	9,067	142,754	6.3%	40.8%
Fort Worth	385,644	119,596	20,570	364,293	5.6%	31.0%
Galveston	92,768	17,349	5,419	87,136	6.2%	18.7%
Houston	1,098,446	312,715	63,904	1,028,093	6.2%	28.4%
San Antonio	377,341	60,564	16,948	358,895	4.7%	16.0%
Waco	77,123	25,033	3,599	73,335	4.9%	32.4%
11th District ²	3,531,251	1,108,975	206,730	3,308,381	6.2%	31.4%
Dallas (City) ¹	1,017,672	442,301	70,516	942,226	7.4%	43.4%
Dallas County	1,180,092	482,043	89,458	1,086,563	8.2%	40.8%
Three Group Systems						
Dallas County	1,004,092	421,505	79,183	921,768	8.6%	41.9%

¹Selected Banks, November 2, 1949

²Source: Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas

An Immigrant that Opened a New Empire

T. C. RICHARDSON
The Farmer-Stockman, Dallas

That imperial domain between the 98th meridian and the Rocky mountains and a thousand miles long from north to south was marked on Grandpa's school atlas as "The Great American Desert." Coronado found no gold or Cities of Cibola there. Three centuries later Santa Fe traders and Mountain Men alike still regarded the region a hazardous barrier to be crossed en route to their goals of pelf and pelts.

After the Louisiana Purchase, Captain Zebulun Pike crossed the short-grass plains by one route, Lewis and Clark by another. Neither of these astute explorers had a good word to say for the region then populated only by nomadic natives and the buffalo upon which they fed. The Santa Fe Expedition from Texas was wrecked on the uncharted solitudes of the Llano Estacado. After the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of California and New Mexico, various exploring expeditions crossed the region in quest of the golden sands of California, the Promised Land of Oregon, or the Utah Oasis.

As late as the 1850's that persistent pathfinder, Captain R. B. Marcy, opined that the country west of the Wichita mountains, in what is now southwest Oklahoma, was unfit for settlement. Though his oxen fattened while they drew his supply wagons in the search for the sources of Red river, Marcy's background and experience blinded him—and his contemporaries—to the dormant wealth of the region.

Long before a European ever trod its eye-challenging levels and marveled that the ground seemed to rise in every direction from where he stood, ending in an unbroken horizon wherever he looked, the Great Plains marked the western boundary of Indian agriculture as practiced by the so-called Gardening Tribes at the time of European discovery and settlement. True, we now know that prehistoric tribes lived and must have grown crops in various places along the streams which cross the Great Plains. They probably practiced a primitive sort of "temporal" irrigation like that of the Pueblos and their neighbors from the Pecos river westward. These "playa" settlements had disappeared, however, before white men came on the scene. The Great Plains and the rolling Prairie Plains separating it from the West Cross Timbers in Texas and Oklahoma were inhabited only by nomadic hunting tribes who lived largely off the buffalo.

A great breeding and grazing ground for myriads of antelope and buffalo (which formerly spilled over eastward into the tall grass country

and forest glades), this section was also a seasonal hunting ground of the "Gardening Tribes" from as far east as Mississippi and Alabama. One Choctaw chief who was sent west to view out land for the proposed removal of his tribe from its ancestral home, bragged that Uncle Sam's hirelings hadn't shown him anything—he had often visited the country on buffalo hunts and fought battles with the Plains tribes there.

With minor spearheads of planting villages on the Brazos, the West Fork of the Trinity, and Red river (in Hill, Tarrant, and Montague counties respectively) in Texas, and the Wichita mountains in Oklahoma, Indian agriculture did not extend beyond the 98th meridian, and approximately the 35-inch rainfall belt. The food crops of those peoples—corn, beans, melons and squash—were not adapted to the windswept plains with scanty and erratic rainfall. These crops demand ample soil moisture during growth period, and cannot wait long for a problematic rain when they reach their crucial fruiting stage.

From the time that Squanto showed New England colonists how to grow corn by planting fish under the hill, that native American grain was the pioneer settler's reliance to "bread his family." From Jamestown on the Potomac to Kaw river it served well. Sometimes the men went ahead and planted a crop, returning with their families only when it was ready to harvest.

After the Great Plains were cleared of Indians and buffalo in the 1870's, the tide of land-hungry immigrants swept into the vast void with high hopes and ambitions. They brought seed of the crops they had grown where they came from, including Indian corn. Too often hot winds seared the tassels when they should have been pollinating the silks on the shoots. If hot winds didn't strike, summer rains were seldom early and abundant enough to enable the ears of grain to fill out, with the result that only "nubbins" were harvested.

Western Kansas settlers faced this in the 1870's, western Texans in the 1880's. The Quaker colony in Crosby county had a corn crop in 1882, but later seasons were not so good. The Texas drouth of 1886-7 depopulated many newly settled counties west of the Cross Timbers where food and feed crops failed. The one crop that made a fair yield in those distressful years was amber sorghum, which fed the teams and milk cows of many distressed pioneers.

The sorgos in America date back to introductions a century ago. From China and Africa they came, promising a source of commercial sugar which was never realized. But they furnished "long sweetening" in the form of molasses that helped keep many a frontier farm family happy and well fed. Recent scientific discoveries tell us that sorghum molasses

contain iron and other nutritive elements which are lacking in other syrups.

The distinctive virtue of the whole sorghum tribe is its ability to withstand and outlive a temporary shortage of soil moisture. The statement, "It laughs at drouths and smiles when it rains," invented by an ad-writer to describe sudan grass forty years ago, is an apt characterization for the entire category of grain and forage sorghums.

Some varieties of grain sorghum were grown in this country for a generation or two under the name of Guinea corn, without spreading beyond experimental plantings in the Atlantic seaboard states. The sorgos or sweet "cane" became an established crop in the humid belt, and moved west with the frontier as a sweet forage for livestock and food for families.

Early in the 1870's a goosenecked white-seeded member of the sorghum family, introduced via California, appeared in western Kansas as a "surefire" grain crop when corn failed. It was catalogued under the name of "Egyptian corn," which was promptly shortened to "Gyp corn" in the nester vernacular. The steel handmill, an essential item of equipment on every frontier farm, ground it into an acceptable bread material which filled many a hungry stomach when neither wheat nor corn were to be had.

In 1876 the South African exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition included some other sorghums, later known as kaffir corn or African millet. By the 1880's the seed of this variety were being distributed from Atlanta, Georgia, and Lawrence, Kansas. These red and white kaffirs have sturdy, juicy, non-sweet stalks and produce large heads of grain—an ideal combination for stock feed. Within reasonable limits kaffir has the ability to loaf along when moisture is "shy" and to recover quickly after it rains.

About the same time that kaffir corn was becoming known, another sorghum was getting a play in the farm press. It was called "milo" maize and had the same ability to live and thrive on a minimum of moisture that its cousins, "cane" and kaffir corn had. In short, the whole sorghum tribe is characterized by a widespread, deep-feeding fibrous root system that extracts the last possible ounce of life-giving moisture from the soil before "giving up the ghost" in a drought period.

A feed and food crop of this type was desperately needed on farms in the Great Plains. Without "cane", kaffir, Gyp corn, and milo to feed the work teams and the milk cows—and in emergencies, the families themselves—this empire which has become America's plethoric bread-basket might well have remained unsettled for another generation. The

sorghum tribe enabled the nesters of the Plains to stick it out through drouth and panic until they found Turkey wheat and other crops that were adapted to a country of climatic hazards. So we may well say that this immigrant from Asia and Africa opened up a new empire in the Western interior of the United States, and made the agricultural settlement of vast areas possible.

The many varieties which are botanically classified in the sorghum family (*sorghum vulgare*, or *Holcus sorghum*) range all the way from broom corn and sudan grass to the sweet sorgos and grain-producing sorts. Even Johnson grass is a member of the highly versatile family which "laughs at drouths and smiles when it rains."

Early forms introduced into this country had their serious defects. Their one common characteristic of drouth-resistance was what the subhumid (or semi-arid if you prefer) regions needed. Before science took a hand, American farmers did a fair job of selection to modify these new crops to their needs. They reduced the giant milo that made it necessary to use a ladder to reach its heavy, pendant heads, an axe to cut the stalk, and a grubbing hoe to uproot its stubble, to the size of corn plants.

The Texas Agricultural Experiment Station found a choice six acre field of grain sorghum in Hall County forty-odd years ago. Seed harvested from that crop were widely distributed in West Texas. This farmer improved variety spread into other states, and for years was the principal sorghum grain of Texas and the Southwest. Convinced of the great value of these new crops, scientists began to hunt out and propagate the better strains of kaffir. A. H. Leidigh, now Dean Emeritus of the Texas Technological College, rode a mule over the Amarillo country searching for superior plants. Southwestern plant breeders began to search out and modify the genetic constitution of the sorghums. Having discovered the linkages and incompatibilities in the sorghum make-up, they were able to synthesize new varieties, with special characteristics to meet Southwestern conditions and requirements.

Low growing or dwarf varities have been developed that can be harvested with a combine, like wheat. A new waxy type of sorghum was produced which took the place of tapioca from the tropics when that product was cut off by war. Another sorghum grain "pops" like popcorn, and has a distinctive and delicate flavor, but it has yet to come into commercial production.

A huge new industrial plant at Corpus Christi manufactures starch, glucose and other products from sorghum grains. These crops feed the poultry of New York and New England, fatten innumerable cattle, lambs,

and hogs in the southwest, and millions of bushels are exported. The strong stubble holds the fertile western soil that would otherwise be blown away during drought periods.

The sorghum family is the anchor for reseeding grasses in the Great Plains, the surest source of livestock feed, the savior of the herds, and the conserver of the soil. These sorghums made possible the settlement of an empire. They are now the stabilizer of agriculture in the High Plains. They are especially important in the southern half of the region, and efforts are being made to develop strains that will grow successfully in Nebraska and farther northward.

The Great American Desert of our "grand-daddies" would have been settled eventually in any case. But the drouth-resisting sorghums made its occupation possible sooner, and they sustain that section when the wheat bonanza has passed. During the great drought period of the thirties which resulted in the development of the "Dust Bowl", farmers who grew sorghums and raised livestock were hard pressed, but most of them saved their farms and remained in the region. Thousands of wheat and cotton growing "suit-case and windshield farmers" were driven away and their expensive machinery rusted out on idle lands. This destructive cycle may be repeated because support prices for wheat and cotton have encouraged the same sort of exploitative agriculture that exposed the Plains soils to excessive wind erosion fifteen years ago. On the other hand, with acreage limitations on the so-called cash crops, we may confidently expect an increase in sorghum acreage. This will be all to the good in the High Plains, for the grain will make millions of pounds of meat, milk, and wool, and it could be used as human food. The stubble will hold the soil against the wind and help prevent the return of Dust Bowl conditions which occasionally threaten this great agricultural region.

Agricultural Policy and the General Economy*

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In the approach to any generalized comparison of agriculture and the general economy, two types of analysis, among others, present themselves as useful channels of approach. The first is the relationship of agriculture to the broad fluctuations of business. The second is a comparison of the relative economic structures of agricultural and non-agricultural industry. The first approach may shed some light on the question whether the problems of agricultural income must be approached through the medium of the general economy or whether they may be approached in a unilateral manner with concentration on the agricultural problems themselves. The second approach may give some indication whether agriculture, in either case, may need supplementary action in the field of policy.

The literature of the field does not show any unanimity of conclusion about the relationship of agriculture to the business cycle. Jevons, Pigou, and D. H. Robertson in England and Henry Ludlow Moore in the United States have seen a close causative relationship flowing from agricultural production and price cycles to the business cycle.

Warren Persons concluded in 1931 that crop situations might have some influence in stimulating or retarding the business cycle but, though "still important," relegated them to a place of "lesser" importance.¹ L. H. Bean in a study in 1929 found a close relationship between a long series of peaks and troughs in agricultural prices and the periods of business prosperity and depression.² In 1930, however Timoshenko concluded that fluctuations in agricultural prices were largely *independent* of business but were more directly dependent upon agricultural production cycles.³

Hansen, on the other hand, reasons that if there are general causal relationships between agriculture and the business cycle, they are likely to flow *from business to agriculture*. He says, "Increasingly industry is the chief buyer of agricultural products. When industry is prosperous manufacture absorbs an immense amount of agricultural raw materials, and its

*A paper delivered to the 1950 Annual Convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association, Agricultural Economics Section, at Houston, Texas.

¹Warren M. Persons, *Forecasting Business Cycles*, John Wiley and Sons, 1931, p. 283.

²cf. L. H. Bean, "Some Short Time Interrelationships Between Agriculture and Business" cited by James A. Estey in *Business Cycles, Their Nature, Cause and Control*, Prentice-Hall, 1941, p. 189.

³Vladimir Timoshenko, *The Role of Agricultural Fluctuations in the Business Cycle*, Michigan, Business Studies 2: (9), June, 1930, p. 19.

wage earners, fully employed at good wages, buy large quantities of food products. When industry is depressed the bottom drops out of the market for farm products . . . I hold that the cyclical fluctuations in the prices of farm products are caused chiefly by the violent shifts in the demand schedules for farm products, taken as a whole, consequent upon the fluctuations in the buying power of industry in the various phases of the business cycle."⁴

Hansen further points out that because of the stability of agricultural production, the welfare of agriculture is influenced much more by these broad changes in aggregate demand for agricultural products which accompany changes in business conditions than by the elasticities of demand for particular agricultural products which influence the redistribution of consumer spending among products within the agricultural framework. I do not take it that he would deny that some impetus to an incipient business boom might be given by large agricultural crops selling at consequent lower prices and therefore representing lower costs to industry. This latter is part of the reasoning of those who look for causation to business activity from agriculture. Another part of the reasoning is that large crops stimulate activity in transportation, processing, and merchandising and that the promise of such activity is seen in advance through the medium of periodic crop and livestock reports and the activity of the speculative markets.

More recent studies⁵ indicate that the problem is not one of *the* business cycle but a composite of *many* cycles in which agricultural price and production fluctuations may be a part. It is certain that commercialized agriculture has become inextricably woven into the warp of the general economy and it is logical that the income relationships between the two should be close ones.

But suppose for a moment that agriculture could be taken as a distinct unit. Changes in agricultural output cannot very well produce uniform influences on the general economy. Big crops of other commodities or in one area tend frequently to be offset by small crops of other commodities or of the same commodity in other areas. Different crops move to market at different times so that the effect is diffused and weakened. Besides this, the effect which changes in the volume of agricultural production are likely to have on the business cycle will not be consistent, but will depend upon the phase of the cycle in which the various agricultural production changes occur. It may be true that lowered agricultural prices may reduce raw material costs, widen industrial and commercial margins,

⁴Alvin Hansen, "The Business Cycle and Its Relation to Agriculture," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, January 1932, p. 62.

⁵e. g. by Frisch and Kondratieff.

and encourage enterprise during the early stages of a boom, but, on the other hand, they may certainly accentuate a general price decline. And, finally, the declining proportion which agriculture holds of the national output itself suggests that agricultural output or stocks are not likely to be so independently important that agricultural price or income problems may be tackled in isolation.

The weight of both evidence and recent experience points to such close interrelations between agriculture and business that regardless of the lines of causation, it seems futile, except for limited emergencies, to approach the problems of agricultural income with chief dependence on agricultural measures.

Schultz and the supporters of his philosophy have emphasized that measures which aim toward "full employment" give the best assurance of satisfactory agricultural income. Chief reliance in striving toward this goal would be placed by them upon national fiscal-monetary policies.

This conclusion has not been without challenge.⁸ It is pertinent, therefore, to ask whether measures aimed at the general economy are adequate, even though necessary, to deal with the agricultural problem. To approach the answer to such a question it is desirable to recognize certain pertinent characteristics in the structure of industry.

It is not necessary to go into the contrast between the negatively inclined demand curve facing the individual seller under conditions of monopolistic competition and the infinitely elastic demand curve faced by the individual farmer but it is necessary to remember that, as a consequence, when reductions occur in the general level of demand, then in the absence of any general counteracting policy, farm products must find their market adjustment almost fully in terms of price reductions. In contrast, industry, insofar as monopolistic elements exist and insofar as individual demand curves are negatively inclined, finds an incentive to reduce the shock of price declines by downward revision of output with its consequent tendency toward price maintenance. A resultant deterioration of the margin between prices received and prices paid by farmers follows and an apparent need for emergency measures manifests itself.

For the moment, let us neglect the problem of emergency situations and assume the development of a long-time agricultural policy. If business activity and agricultural income are closely interwoven, then, in the long run, agricultural income problems must be attacked with re-

⁸cf. O. V. Wells, "Significance of General Price Level and Related Influences to American Agriculture", *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, Part 2, November 1949, pp. 779-787 and Pearson and Parlberg, "Sixty Million Jobs and Six Million Farmers," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1, February, 1946, p. 28.

ference to the general economy. The logical goal, therefore, is stabilization of the general price level probably through the development of fiscal-monetary policies designed to maintain full employment and to keep aggregate demand from becoming either excessive or deficient. But stability involves the problem of the allocation of resources. In this search for full employment can we assume that policies which result in high levels of employment at any particular time will also assure an allocation of resources which will provide continued full employment and economic stability? We speak of our "parity program" as being backward looking but, in a different sense and to a different degree all business adjustments are also backward looking. All evaluations for the future find their criteria in the relationships of the past. History insistently tells us that businessmen make mistakes in these evaluations and we have had to pay the economic penalty which, in view of the infinitely elastic demand curves faced by individual farmers, has been an intensified penalty for agriculture, or, perhaps instead, we have been rescued from the economic penalty by some episodic occurrence such as war or some important innovation. Perhaps some more dependable substitute for these episodic factors is still needed to compensate for the income fluctuations which may follow wrong and generalized business decisions.

But quite apart from the fallability of entrepreneurs in making their decisions, I believe that there are other reasons why monetary-fiscal policies cannot assure optimum allocation of resources even though they reach a measure of success in keeping men employed. The very structure of modern business promotes rigidities which militate against adjustment. The rigidity of overhead costs in physical plant is obvious and the impediment to adjustment is obvious. The rigidity which comes from oligopoly conditions is no less real when major decisions relating to adjustment must be conditioned by the anticipated reaction of competitors. Further rigidities which retard needed adjustments are imposed by the decisions and actions of organized labor. Taxation or tariff decisions, contrary perhaps to the aims of the fiscal-monetary policy but imposed through the political pressures of special interest groups, may introduce other impediments to adjustment in the allocation of resources. Or, government agencies, quite apart from economic policy—perhaps for reasons of security—may direct resources into the stream of production or withdraw them. All of these influences may alter exchange ratios and the consequent allocation of resources from those which would be anticipated by businessmen or aimed at by monetary-fiscal policy. The assurance that such monetary-fiscal policy will provide stable economic conditions is something less than absolute. Again, perhaps there is need for supplementary means to prevent economic shock to a price-sensitive agriculture.

Part of the problem of the allocation of resources and economic stability is, of course, the problem of mobility of workers. The technical demands of modern industry decrease the short-run mobility of workers in many industries, but perhaps the problem of immobility of farmers is more persistent than in other industries because, in addition to the immobility produced by specialization of skills, there is the immobility produced by the fact that the farmer may remain in his job for a very long time after economic factors have indicated the need for change. He may do this by the simple expedient of accepting progressively lower income. Many of his costs are postponable. A high level of industrial employment is not sufficient answer to this problem. In fact, high business activity, high farm incomes, and the accompanying high farm labor costs intensify the trend toward improved mechanization, increased efficiency, and higher productivity per man. As Schultz has pointed out, this creates a further demand for reallocation of agricultural resources and especially of farm population. But those who are made submarginal by these developments are least likely to move! They tend to remain with lowered standards of living themselves while their continued production exercises a depressing influence upon agricultural prices.

Thus, success in the goal of full employment for the economy as a whole may even create low returns from employment in some segments of the farm population and some diminution to agriculture of the favorable effects of high business activity if this segment of the farm population continues to farm—as it is likely to do. Fiscal-monetary policies alone will not solve the problem of allocation of resources within agriculture because agriculture has its own rigidities.

These limitations to national policies aimed at stabilization of the general economy are inherent in the structure of industry but in addition to the limitations cited above, there are certain tasks for which the free enterprise system lacks adequate motivation for optimum accomplishment. These tasks include conservation of resources, agricultural or otherwise; insurance against the risks of general crop failures; and the storage of stocks in line with general welfare. The history of agricultural credit in this country also attests to the inability of unaided private enterprise consistently to meet the needs of farming in bad times as it has in good.

It is not the job of this paper to discuss particular agricultural policies. That task has been given to other speakers. It is sufficient to conclude that while approach to the income problems of agriculture must be made with reference to the general economy, there appears to be a definite need for some kind of agricultural policy which, on the one hand, will assist in that economic adjustment which is not fully accomplished by general policy and, on the other hand, will perform those tasks which enterprise alone cannot be expected to perform. The prerequisite is that

such policies shall not run counter to the general policies and aims. The determination of such policies will require scholarship. The implementing of them will require statesmanship. It is certain that the price support policies which we have been using do not fulfill the prerequisite cited above. One no longer needs to argue that support prices obscure the needs for reallocation of resources, destroy the bases for foreign trade, and tie our storage policies to the goal of price maintenance rather than stabilization of supplies.

In 1947, Schultz said to a combined industry, labor, and agricultural group, that the "United States is not prepared to keep its economy at full production . . . The conditions necessary to achieve this important objective are not understood . . . Each group is prone to define full production to fit its own interest, with a profound indifference to the general welfare."⁷

I am sure that this indictment has been too generally justified in the past, but I believe that we are making slow strides toward a more constructive approach. If agriculture is to share in such progress, I believe that we must allow more opportunity for basic research on problems of policy by economists in agriculture working not alone, but with researchers from other fields. I believe also in this connection that we must recognize with Stigler that "empirical reality is too complex ever to be described fully,"⁸ and so to be willing to go farther beyond the area of purely empirical research. In that connection, I believe that the kind of economic leadership which we get in agriculture will be influenced by the kind of training which is given to our undergraduate and graduate students in colleges of agriculture. If we continue to turn out graduates who are essentially technicians, who are plunged into applied courses in economics before they have significant grasp of the fundamentals which they try to apply, just so long shall we have too many agricultural leaders who seek a formula approach to problems of policy or who are easily swayed by the emotional appeal that lies in group interest and political expediency. If agricultural leaders are narrowly trained, they can hardly be effective in formulating broad correctives for agriculture through the medium of the general economy or in developing the complementary policies that may be needed.

⁷T. W. Schultz, "The Economic Challenge that Comes with Full Production," Third National Forum of Agriculture, Labor, and Industry, University of Wyoming, Laramie, July 28, 1947.

⁸George Stigler, *The Theory of Price*, Macmillan, 1947, p. 9.

Agricultural Policy: Educational Assistance from the Land-Grant Colleges

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The Setting

Agricultural policy, in its entirety, circumscribes the multifarious relations between government and the citizenry. Therefore, the attendant principles and issues necessarily transcend the boundaries of economics and become entangled, and sometimes barbarically so, in sociology, ethics, political science, and in the physical sciences as well.

However, to be brief and to emphasize the economic considerations in agricultural policy, this appraisal is limited to educational assistance by the land-grant colleges on national policies and adjustment programs bearing directly upon the economic choices of the farmer.

Furthermore, special emphasis is placed upon educational efforts in this field by economists in the state agricultural extension services, with which the writer is more familiar, than of those in resident instruction and research.

One further limitation—policy considerations arising out of existing circumstances are appraised only. Although it could be done, no attempt is made to construct theoretical models to show the requirements for economic gains in the general or agricultural welfare; the ultimate goal of the land-grant college educational program.

Imperfect Standards

An appraisal of educational programs geared to agricultural policy, in lieu of approved standards, may be likened at least in part, to the concept of "faith, hope and charity". Particularly, in the absence of acceptable quantitative standards, one has to resort to the usual qualitative mileposts evident in *personnel improvement, subject matter growth, greater and more widespread interest, and the considered opinions of leaders in the policy field*.

A number of recognized leaders in educational work in the field of agricultural policy have pointed up the necessity, at this stage, for qualitative rather than quantitative analyses of achievements. In fact, their current offerings reflect little attention to standards *per se*.

O. B. Jesness, one of them, and Chief of the Division of Agricultural Economics, University of Minnesota, says, ". . . there is not much

purpose in seeking exact measurements of accomplishments in any line of real education . . . By that I mean it is difficult to measure with any assurance of accuracy the effects on the thinking and understanding which grow out of educational activities." He continues, "The best we can do (in judging educational work in agricultural policy) is to stand back and take a look at changes which have taken place over a period of time."¹

Bushrod Allin, Chief of the Outlook Board, Bureau of Agricultural Economics and another stalwart in the field of agricultural policy, largely offers sympathy for the task at hand. "I can readily understand your difficulty in discovering objective measures of progress in educational work on agricultural policy", Allin advises. "My guess is that your approach to this problem will have to be qualitative rather than quantitative."²

In harmony with these other two leaders, Charles Hardin, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, concludes, "I haven't been able to develop standards as yet, although I believe that some (educational) emphasis could justly be placed on the accomplishments of numerous public programs for agriculture—in farm credit and rehabilitation, in price supports, . . . etc."³

Perhaps one should not strive for analytical perfection in reviewing this field. A more fruitful approach might be to recognize the interplay of the several arenas, and as far as practicable, simply try to interpret the main acts in the show.

The vast number of inter-relationships is indicated by Howard Tolley, Chief Economist of the Food and Agriculture Organization. Several years ago, as Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, he wrote in regard to this subject, ". . . there are many tangled threads and facts, ideas, struggles, needs and dreams. Straightening out these threads and weaving them into a strong fabric of agricultural policy suited to a democracy is the job of farmers and statesmen."⁴

Notwithstanding these obstacles, progress has been made—is being made—in educational work in this field. Space permits only some spot checks. These follow:

Land-Grant Administration

The growing interest and enthusiasm by land-grant college officials in their responsibility in the field of agricultural policy, is real progress—at least to me.

¹Letter written March 6, 1950, St. Paul, Minnesota.

²Letter written March 3, 1950, Washington, D. C.

³Letter written March 24, 1950, Chicago, Illinois.

⁴"Some Essentials of Good Agricultural Policy", Reprint from 1940 Yearbook of Agriculture, U. S. D. A., 1941, Washington, D. C.

Not until 1927, did the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, through a report, give formal attention to the matter of agricultural policy. Another report, emphasizing the need for more work in this field was completed in 1932. Then in 1944, a third report, prepared jointly by the land-grant colleges and the Department's inter-bureau committee on postwar programs, was prepared. It, particularly, stimulated interest in agricultural policy education.⁵

As to this latest report, Professor John D. Black of Harvard University commented: "This new statement of policy, in consequence, is upon a different plane than its predecessors. It senses more fully the interdependence of agriculture and other parts of the economy and the common interest of all in higher level employment, and likewise the interdependence of the economies of the different nations."⁶

In 1946, another national committee, this time studying the scope of extension educational responsibility sensed the need for educational work on broader problems and pointed out that this responsibility "grows more important as society progresses and as a greatly increasing number of sources outside the individual farms and homes come to bear upon the welfare of the people involved."⁷

Associate Director Noble Clark, of the Wisconsin Experiment Station, a staunch advocate of policy work in the land-grant colleges, reminds too that "the only farm program that can be ultimately successful is one that farm people, and to a large degree, the whole population, support heartily." Continuing he says, ". . . education must come first in dealing with the so-called action agencies if really effective progress is to be made in matters in which public cooperation is successful."⁸

Better understanding and appreciation of agricultural policy implications by officials of my own institution—the Texas A & M College System—also has been noticeable during the past few years. The testimony presented by the Vice Chancellor for Agriculture at the regional hearing on long range agricultural policy at Temple, Texas, in 1947, which was conducted jointly by the House and Senate agricultural committees, clearly denotes this trend.

⁵Joint Report of the Land-Grant Colleges and Department's Inter-Bureau Committee on Postwar Programs, Washington, D. C. 1944.

⁶"Land-Grant College Postwar Agricultural Policy", *Journal of Farm Economics*, Feb. 1945.

⁷Report of Committee on the Scope of Extension Educational Responsibility, U. S. D. A. Jan. 1946, Washington, D. C.

⁸Statement presented at annual meeting of Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1948, Washington, D. C.

More recently, one of the extension administrators told state experiment station workers, "To do an efficient and productive job, we (the Extension Service) need research findings of the effect upon Texas farmers of production controls, price supports, reciprocal trade agreements, etc; just as we need findings of the entomologists for an educational program on crop production. We urge you to give more attention to these matters."¹⁰⁴

Such tasteful morsels for the proponents of educational work in agricultural policy are well and good. But what about the action—the employment of technically equipped personnel to carry on the education? Very frankly, there has been a serious time lag across the country between these administrative statements and getting an educational program underway. Yet, on the other hand, considerable progress is evident in this area, too.

Division Balance

Neither uniform statistical reports nor job descriptions are required of staff members in extension, research or resident instruction in land-grant colleges. Consequently, nation-wide summaries are not too reliable. Nevertheless, the heads of Departments of Agricultural Economics have reported about two persons in resident instruction for each one person in research or extension engaged in agricultural policy endeavor.¹⁰⁵

This indicates a similar number of staff members at work in research and in extension. Yet, from other sources it appears that more attention is given to the economic aspects of agricultural policy, by extension. For one thing, research workers tend to place a broader interpretation on the field. A corollary point of significance, too, is the heavy concentration of research in agricultural policy problems in the stations of a few states. Across the board, extension economics staffs devote some twelve percent of their time to problems in this area.

Resident Instruction

Now to review very briefly the extent and nature of resident instruction in agricultural policy. A recent survey reveals that only about ten land-grant colleges do not give courses which deal principally with agricultural policy. A number of them offer several courses.

¹⁰⁴Impact on the Extension Service of Government Aid Programs, J. D. Prewit, Vice-Director, Texas Agricultural Extension Service, Experiment Station Conference, College Station, May 1949.

¹⁰⁵An Introduction to Extension Economics, Tyrus R. Timm, *Journal of Farm Economics*, February, 1949.

At all forty-eight of these institutions, however, courses with policy implications, such as land economics, taxation, prices and marketing, are in the curriculum. A person close to the problem interestingly commented, "It may be that this form of instruction, however, gives more public policy training than the general courses."¹¹ (Meaning than in the courses designated as *agricultural policy*.)

Research

The research role in this field is substantial, but as already indicated, rather elusive and hard to package. A wide variety of studies have been made, but mostly of state and local issues; such as the study in Montana of the operation and financing of grazing districts and the study of milk price regulations in the Boston milk shed. In the field of land economics alone there are thirty-seven such investigations dealing with public and private land policies and programs.¹²

Researchers defend a long list of other basic studies as being agricultural policy studies. Their argument, essentially: You never know what questions of public policy will arise and what data will be needed to solve them. We have learned to respect their attitude, particularly in working on alternative opportunities for diverted acres released by the acreage control program.

Several of the stations have done outstanding work on policy questions of national and international consequence. Yet, these are the kinds of studies in which I believe far too few stations are participating at present.

Some of them: Iowa State's studies of federal-state relations, Cornell's investigation into milk pricing policies in foreign countries, Kentucky's research on the effect of acreage allotments on burley tobacco, California's appraisal of American agricultural policy, and Michigan State's analyses of international developments affecting agriculture.

In many departments of agricultural economics such as at Wisconsin and Louisiana State, staff members of the three divisions team up to critically examine current policy issues and report their findings through regular monthly and quarterly publications.

B. T. Shaw, Deputy Administrator for the Agricultural Research Administration, reports, "The State agricultural experiment stations are deeply concerned about federal, domestic, and foreign trade policies

¹¹Noted by L. M. Vaughan, Economist, Federal Extension Office, U. S. D. A., who prepared summary for subcommittee on Work in Agricultural Policy of the National Policy Committee, established by the Farm Foundation, Washington, D. C., January 1950.

¹²Letter from D. T. Shaw, Deputy Administrator of the Agricultural Research Administration, U. S. D. A., March 24, 1950, Washington, D. C.

affecting American agriculture and rural life." But then he flashes, what I consider to be a *danger signal*. He believes that ". . . most state experiment stations are in a less favorable position than certain federal agencies to do extensive research in the field of domestic and foreign agricultural policy."¹²

The question is: Are state experiment stations so situated? If true, should this be the case? Do we need a system of checks and balances, so effective in controlling the executive, judicial, and legislative reins on our national government, in our overall research program? Another question: Can objective research be done by an agency which also has far-reaching line functions?

With sincere appreciation of the many obstacles before them, I believe we must accept for the time being, the fact that state experiment stations generally are not providing those in extension and in resident instruction with adequate research material in agricultural policy. To my knowledge, current station studies in the Southwest are providing relatively little assistance in answering far-reaching policy questions concerning the parity concept, industrial-agricultural relationships, private-public stake in conservation, credit services of the government, surplus disposal, production controls, price supports, or reciprocal trade agreements—in terms of their consequences to our region and to the general economy.

Supporting material for these discussions still come mainly from textbooks, the technical journals, farm and business organizations, certain private universities, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

It would be amiss not to add that although relatively few studies are underway in the stations on the subject, research workers are always willing to leave their going projects and contribute what they can to staff discussions of these public issues. In this regard, they have been extremely helpful.

Extension

Progress made by the extension program in agricultural policy will be discussed in greater detail than were the efforts of resident instruction and research, as I am more familiar with it. As in the other two divisions, accomplishments thus far are difficult to ascertain. There is a positive program underway, and it appears that for the present at least, that the state extension services are more aggressively attacking problems in agricultural policy than are the other two divisions of the land-grant institutions.

¹²Letter written March 24, 1950, Washington, D. C.

At a meeting in Washington in June, 1949, called by Federal Extension Director M. L. Wilson, about a dozen extension economists met with several consultants to take a better look at the field of agricultural policy—the work underway, problems and the needs for the future.

In opening the conference, Director Wilson declared "Leadership in public policy rests largely with extension economists . . . We, therefore, are definitely committed to very active work in this field and I feel that we have not done as much in this field and are not now doing as much as the field justifies." Then he realistically concluded, "I feel the public policy field is probably much more difficult than other fields and requires a great deal of skill and judgment, both in subject matter and relationships related to public policy."¹⁴

Very significant is the fact that the Farm Foundation last year appointed a twelve man national extension committee which is now busily engaged in reviewing and promoting extension work in agricultural policy. This year, the Foundation may spend ten thousand dollars on regional training programs in agricultural policy for extension personnel.

Extension work in agricultural policy in most states falls into three categories: "(1) basic responsibilities of citizens in a democracy; (2) the operation of current programs and how they affect agriculture and improve rural living; (3) the issues involved in new programs under consideration for governmental action and the implications for agriculture in terms of both the immediate and long term objectives."¹⁵

Within this framework, in Texas as elsewhere, the extension group in economics has given particular attention to such policy matters as price and production supports and controls, agricultural credit needs, differences in the economic behavior of industry and agriculture, influence of the international market upon the agricultural economy, impact of the federal income tax upon agriculture, and various other issues involved in the politics of agriculture.

The responsibility of the extension economist, doing educational work in agricultural policy, is to present the basic facts underlying national economic policies and programs, and insofar as possible, project the alternative consequences likely and the conflicting issues present. If he performs this task well, then through free discussion farm people can decide for themselves, and intelligently so, the policies they want to reject and

¹⁴"Need for Educational Work on Public Policy Problems", M. L. Wilson, Conference on Educational Work in Public Policy Problems and Their Relationship To Agriculture, Washington, D. C., June 1949.

¹⁵Report of Conference noted above.

those they want to accept. Their decisions should result in the long run—in better public policies, as such decisions are molded by real democratic processes.

Certain facets of the Texas extension program in agricultural policy are bringing forth some results worthy of consideration.

As background material for county extension agents, an informal statement on current policy issues, "Economic Facts & Opinions", is prepared about once a month. A survey of the agents in 1943, showed that 97 percent wanted the statement continued. Moreover, no let up in their interest has been detected. On the average, they reported they refer to it six times a month and that during the year, they found the subject matter particularly helpful on 5,145 occasions of which farm meetings accounted for half. The material also was used as background information for newspaper articles, farm newsletters, appearances before town groups and radio talks, in that order of importance.¹⁸

Workers in the line agencies of the Federal government and businessmen are reached by two other important aspects of the extension program. During the past two years, policy issues largely pertaining to agricultural subsidies have been discussed with the state committee of the Production and Marketing Administration, and in meetings attended by forty-two of the county committees.

Work is underway on several fronts with business groups. A number of business firms and business organizations employ one or more persons whom might be called agricultural relations advisors. They are men employed by commercial banks, public utility firms, railroads, and city chambers of commerce, who handle agricultural relations for their employers.

In 1948 a group of these advisors formed the Texas Commercial Agriculturists Council. The pros and cons of agricultural policy are discussed at their meetings. The annual meeting the latter part of April had as its main theme "Should Price Supports and Production Controls Play a Major Role in the Contribution of Government to Agriculture". The Council is largely an in-service training device and the extension economist serves as a consultant.

Problems

Problems and obstacles over the country to agricultural policy work are numerous. It doesn't help our cause, for example, for one of the presi-

¹⁸"Analysis of Uses by Texas County Agricultural Agents of Periodic Statement—Economic Facts & Opinions, Tyrus R. Timm, Texas Extension Service, 1943, College Station, Texas.

dents of a land-grant college to say at a public meeting, "we have done a good job of production education, a pretty fair job in the field of marketing and distribution, *but nothing in general policy problems.*"¹⁷ He was simply uninformed.

The difficulty of presenting an unbiased discussion of public policy is recognized. Economists have tried to be objective but have been criticized at times for being for or against some particular program. Some county agents still think that all questions pertaining to economic policy are *political*, and that such questions should not be discussed under their sponsorship.

In the preparation of the present national report on extension activities in the field other problems are being raised by state leaders; some of these follow:

"They (the agents) are inclined to shy away from it unless they have some training and have the proper tools to support them." Again the need for appropriate research is evident.

"Our biggest weakness is that we have not accomplished much in the field of training leaders to discuss these policies."

"In some areas local groups or the press have become prejudice against a particular program and there is little opportunity afforded the agents for discussion of the pros and cons."

"Frankness compels me to admit an apparently all too pronounced hesitance on the part of many county workers to face up to the issues. This reluctance seems to stem from the feeling of many that they are charged with the responsibility of standing always in defense of the farmers' interest. . . ."

"Federal action agencies in the state have increased their activities and have become aggressive in holding conferences and committee meetings involving public policy . . . " tending to nullify at times, the efforts of agents.

"One reason that these action agencies have been able to be so aggressive and dominant in the state in these matters", one person pointed out, "has been partly due to the lack of aggressiveness on the part of the Extension Service and the College."

Conclusion

A remark by an economist from another state meriting close consideration by those of us in land-grant colleges is that: "Farm people

¹⁷"Notes on General Economics Seminar Session, Federal Extension Office, February 21, 1946, Washington, D. C.

and the public in general have over the years come to have a high regard for the leadership in Extension from the grass roots all the way up the line . . . Unless we make a more straight forward approach to the presentation of all considerations in public policy than now, it is quite possible that we may be embarrassingly asked why we failed to discharge our responsibility."

"There is much evidence", this staff member continues, "that farmers are doing a great deal more thinking for themselves than we imagine. When a more general awakening occurs, we in Extension may be asked why we have stood in the shadows so long while professing to be the torch bearer."¹⁸

Thus *educational work in agricultural policy is expanding, is developing on new fronts, receiving some recognition, and a little reflection in policy formation.*

Yet, the expectation of continuous progress in technology and in the agricultural sciences, further dependency upon the market place, continued high level participation by the government in agricultural affairs, a better and more rapid system of communication, and a better educated and organized clientele, re-emphasizes the *need for further educational assistance in the years immediately ahead in this vital problem area.*

¹⁸L. M. Vaughan's Report as noted in Footnote 11.

Book Reviews

Edited by H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

HAROLD HOFFSOMMER (Ed.): *The Social and Economic Significance of Land Tenure in the Southwestern States.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950, Pp. 666, \$6.00.)

This book, as the publisher claims, represents a conglomeration of meticulous detail on the multi-sided approach and intra-regional inconsistencies apparent in the tenure pattern of the Southwest. The nine chapters or reports dealing with farm organization, family status, changes in tenure status, leasing arrangements and landlord tenant relationships, soil conservation, legal aspects and farm credit, farm capital, impacts of federal programs, and community and institutional factors, are limited to a rather dry presentation of a great mass of statistical data interspersed with individual value appraisals of the respective authors. It is not inferred that the quality of the subject matter presented in this book suffers from the value judgments presented by the capable array of contributing scientists but from the lack of coordination apparent in the synthesis of these judgments into general principles or the development of a clear-cut philosophy of land tenure that could serve as a guide for long range tenure policy.

This treatise will probably serve as a conclusion to the rather active tenure reform movement that reached its height immediately preceding World War II. Although the primary purpose of this study was to describe and measure, insofar as possible, the relationship between the tenure status of the farm family and its economic and social performance, it is noteworthy that throughout the various chapters the authors recognized, though usually not explicitly, that tenure status and social performance were the results of economic accomplishments of the farm family rather than the other way around.

Experience in the decade, 1940-1950, during which we witnessed the rapid trend toward farm mechanization and the increased adoption of associated technologies certainly bears out the fact that economic factors were dominant as causal factors affecting the welfare of farm people and that production per worker was far more important in determining economic and social participation of farmers than whether they were owners, renters or share croppers.

From an economist's viewpoint the chapter on tenure and farm organization is a disappointment. This is the chapter that should logically treat the economic significance of land tenure. First, it is obviously apparent that the exclusive use of the old farm business analysis would be of little value anyway in evaluating the economic significance of land tenure.

In this book the economics of farm organization as such is concerned primarily with a detailed description by tenure class with variations by areas of such things as size of farm, land use, important crops, use of capital, farm power, use of labor, gross income, etc.

Despite the shortcomings of *The Social and Economic Significance of Land Tenure in the Southwestern States*, it will serve well as an elaborate and documented description of the land tenure situation that prevailed prior to World War II. It will be a useful "bench-mark" for future studies and for measuring changes in the tenure pattern. The book, though not of particular interest to the general reader, should be of great value as a reference for students in the social sciences. It should also be of interest to agricultural workers generally.

National Cotton Council

Frank D. Barlow Jr.

WILSON GEE: *Social Science Research Methods*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950, Pp., 390, \$4.00.)

What is social science? Can subjects commonly enumerated as social science fields be or become sciences? What approach and techniques will aid students in the fields listed to challenge the prestige status of the physical sciences?

These and many corollary questions are asked by Mr. Gee. He does not undertake the task of answering or discussing them. He offers a compilation of statements with only slight evaluation. To deal with ideas presented would involve consideration of opinions of many persons of divergent minds. At one extreme is the reiteration by E. A. Kirkpatrick of nineteenth century acceptance of the superiority of physics: "problems of the human sciences do not differ from physics in kind but only in complexity. The methods which have brought success in one will ultimately bring success in the other." (92) At the other extreme, J. J. Spengler states that "no amount of pretended exactitude or impersonalism can transform social science into physical science." (167) The social scientist is therefore *condemned* (italics of reviewer) to be an artist. "He cannot even act as if he were a physical scientist." By the law of the excluded middle, where are now the social scientists? Mr. Gee rejects the latter opinion and warns that it will be well "to wait maybe another half century or more to see what will be the results of the endeavor to make the social sciences more scientific." (118)

The method of science is stated categorically to be in broad outline the same in all fields, "the method of logically trained minds." The logical method is elucidated by many distinguished discussers, including, to mention a few, John Dewey, J. S. Mill, K. Pearson, M. Cohen, F. Knight, J. Maritain. Technical methods are the statistical, the historical, the experi-

mental, the case and the survey. The statistical is in so far as possible a substitute for the experimental method (273). It integrates findings of other methods that "social processes may be seen" as wholes rather than as isolated units (272). The statistician becomes a scientist when he glimpses from his compilations some suggestion of "cosmic connectedness."

The closing chapter weighs the research function of the individual versus that of the group and gives a brief listing of operating research agencies and their work.

In view of the extent of coverage it may seem captious to question an omission. Thorstein Veblen, whom many active investigators of the historical and the contemporary world acknowledge as their genetic inspiration, is without mention. It may be that anything he said has been more cogently stated by others, but his influence upon social science and scientists cannot be ignored.

The excerpts included are in general well chosen and concisely pointed toward the subject of immediate interest. Consideration of the material presented impresses the reader with the depth and breadth of the divisions among social scientists regarding task and aim. Through reading the volume, a student of the social sciences should become aware of the lack of unity—to the reviewer not necessarily confusion—regarding subject matter, methods, and general purpose among social sciences as they have appeared to their older contemporaries and immediate predecessors. He may receive as by-product warning against dogmatic insistence as to the final rightness of his own or others' concepts or dialectics.

The University of Texas

Ruth A. Allen

SAMUEL A. STOUFFER AND ASSOCIATES: *Measurement and Prediction*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, Pp., 756, \$10.00.)

This is the last huge monograph in the four volume series, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, growing out of the work of the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, War Department. By now, everybody teaching in social psychology—indeed, anyone organizing data from attitude and opinion surveys—must know that this series, particularly this volume, has highest priority for time and attention. In review of the first volume in this series in the *Quarterly* the present writer felt moved to say, "If the final volume matches its obligation, the series may indeed be *The Polish Peasant following World War II*." Writing now, it is a little hard to make much meaning out of that. The point is that this is a whale of a book and many of its ideas are new. As has been demonstrated in other journals by reviewers who can work much faster than the present one, it is not a book for substantive review

in 300 words or 3,000! What these materials now need is the perspective that comes after discussion and experimentation. Perhaps this is a good a place as any to suggest that this one volume deserves panel consideration for at least one session in the guild meetings of psychologists and sociologists in the next year or so. The profit for research and teaching from this should excel just about any other possible professional use of convocation time.

The volume has two parts: eleven chapters on measurement plus an appendix on sampling; five chapters on predictive experiments. The unifying theme of the initial part is the development of patterns and procedures for scaling personal responses and the demonstration of empirical tests for them. To this reviewer the highlights, beyond Stouffer's own cogent overview, are Louis Guttman's restatement of problems in attitude and opinion measurement, his concise brief on reliability, and Edward A. Suchman's review of intensity checks. The materials on prediction are of quite different order. Following an introduction by Stouffer, two chapters are devoted to each of two predictive efforts. Stouffer's own resume must stand here:

"They are by no means models of clean and simple prediction. The complexities of the problems and the ambiguities of the criterion situation called for much technical ingenuity and, in final analysis, for exercise of some enlightened guesswork. In both instances the Branch felt that the value of the results more than justified the effort. Many pitfalls were anticipated and successfully evaded, others were not. By a frank recording of these accounts of prediction, it is hoped that future students can help equip themselves to do analogous tasks better."

Indeed, the quotation does more than epitomize the prediction projects. It epitomizes the spirit of the entire series of studies.

Oklahoma A. and M. College

Paul B. Foreman

HERBERT A. SIMON, DONALD W. SMITHBURG, AND VICTOR A. THOMPSON: *Public Administration*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950, Pp., 589, \$4.50.)

Before and during the second World War, the idea that the study of public administration consisted of the discovery, enunciation and application of a set of basic principles began to break down. The earlier presentation of the subject in text books, administrative survey reports and other treatises was subjected to challenge from many sides. The effects upon writers were varied and interesting. Some writers expounded vague notions about politics and administration, with occasional glimmers of light but relatively few contributions to an understanding of the field.

Others, especially among the newer arrivals in the field, tended to assume the role of enlightened preachers, expounding the tenets of fundamental doctrine, yet pointing out repeatedly that the tenets are not fundamental. Still others, perhaps the more prosaic and less egotistic, fell back upon the dull monotony of writing descriptive government.

Herbert Simon and his associates have made the first real attempt to build a text book in public administration upon a new foundation. They have cast aside the traditional outline of materials, and they have tried to analyze administrative operations in terms of human behavior. They have brought forth new definitions and new postulates—new at least to general text books in the field.

The results are refreshing. Students of administration now have a chance once more to feel that they are acquiring the stuff of an intellectual discipline rather than a mere collection of facts and individual opinions. Also, there is an opportunity to apply the new generalizations to the descriptive materials with which students work—although this application may not be as simple as when the old principles were in fashion. The new text should provide a real challenge to students and to teachers, as well as to other prospective writers of other text books in the field.

No work as revolutionary as this one can escape criticism. The present reviewer has in mind two criticisms in particular. One is that difficulties will unquestionably arise out of the authors' attempt to give new meanings to old and familiar words. The concepts that are presented are fully acceptable, but the repeated attempt to direct the course of semantics by logical argument is of doubtful wisdom. The meaning of words is deeply rooted in custom, mores and feelings. Rather than attempt to give a new definition to the word *authority*, for example, it might be well to make use of the group of meaningful words, such as *authority, influence and power*. Other attempts to redefine old words by use of logical argument might be sighted.

The second criticism is that somehow the detailed arguments regarding the universality of broad participation in decision making do not seem to present a case for democratic administration. To be sure the discussion will help to dispel the idea of the all powerful administrator subject only to legislative policy and the directives of his superior. But might it give some comfort to the autocratic minded administrator who tries to make his subordinates believe that his decisions are theirs?

Despite these criticisms this reviewer considers the book by far the most challenging and most realistic presentation of public administration that has appeared in text book form.

University of Kansas

Edwin O. Stene

CHARLES S. HYNEMAN: *Bureaucracy in a Democracy*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, Pp., 586, \$4.50.)

In an age of large scale governmental activities, the place of bureaucracy in a democratic system is of great concern to all of us. Every citizen should be interested in knowing what can be done to make our federal bureaucracy function as a faithful servant of the people. The author states early in this volume that he proposes to write "about the administrative organizations of the federal government." His purpose is to examine the place of administration in democratic government.

No quarrel may be had with Professor Hyneman on the ground that he has not carried out his avowed purpose. He discusses, criticizes, evaluates and recommends regarding administrative organization and personnel of our federal government. He analyses relationships between administrative personnel, Congress and the people. In brief, he treats of the relation of administration to politics and suggests the creation of a Central Council of leaders of the party that have been given the job of running our federal government. The Council would be responsible for formulating the program of the government-of-the-day and for directing its execution. The President would select the Council from among the members of his party in Congress, heads of important administrative establishment and some persons not holding public office. Such an arrangement the author believes would greatly reduce the likelihood of the President's overtly committing his party to programs which he could not induce the party to put into effect.

If the reviewer may be privileged to say so, Professor Hyneman is not an armed chair writer on public administration, nor is he one who, after years of practical experience, returns to the cloistered halls to write as he would have written had he not passed much time on the firing lines.

It is indeed refreshing to find a volume on public administration written by one qualified to speak, and at the same time, one who is not afraid and has the ability to put in simple English his beliefs and opinions. The author makes no attempt to impress his reader with footnotes or vocabulary. On the other hand, he has something to say, and he should be complimented for saying it well.

The University of Texas

Stuart A. MacCorkle

OLIVER HENRY RADKEY: *The Election to the Russian Constituent Assembly of 1917*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950, Pp., 83, \$2.50.)

Every student of Soviet affairs is familiar with the widespread attitude that it is useless to undertake basic research with reference to the Soviet

Union since no primary materials are available. We can not, it is true, analyze the process of policy-making in the Kremlin with any real expectation of guessing Stalin's future plans, although this seems to have become the major preoccupation of most Soviet "experts" in our country. In this study of elections returns, however, Mr. Radkey has shown once again what can be done if patience, dilligence and intelligence are applied to a solvable problem.

Working over a period of years in the Russian-language holdings of libraries in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, France and the United States, Mr. Radkey has done a painstaking job of gathering primary materials concerning the returns in the Russian Constituent Assembly elections of 1917. With a surprisingly large amount of factual data, he has attempted to analyze the results from area to area in terms of Party strength, to examine the known facts concerning conditions at the polls, and to estimate the degree of consciousness of the voting public. His conclusions, particularly those concerning the areas controlled by the Bolsheviks and by their foes are important.

Mr. Radkey has carried out his original objectives in this study to a large degree, but it is regretable that he did not pose his research problem within a larger framework. Although he is interested primarily in the election returns, he does realize that some attention must be paid to the organization and pre-election efforts of the various parties, and to the political and psychological conditions within the country at the time of the election. Unfortunately, Mr. Radkey's comments concerning these vital matters are restricted to a few pages and scattered comments. Yet there does exist a very large body of materials, largely unused by American scholars, concerning these matters. It would be a notable contribution if a future study would reveal, for example, the Bolshevik organization, operational methods, and propaganda techniques in this period. Although Mr. Radkey refers to these from time to time, he has not used the voluminous data now available, and his comments on these points tend to be haphazard and unsystematic. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that in the work already accomplished by him, he has performed a notable service and shown the way for other scholars.

Ohio State University

Louis Nemzer

STEUART HENDERSON BRITT: *Social Psychology of Modern Life*. (Revised Edition). (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1949, Pp., 703, \$4.50.)

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH AND ANSELM L. STRAUSS: *Social Psychology*. (New York: The Dryden Press, 1949, Pp., 549, \$4.50.)

The two books here considered were written as texts for the intro-

ductory course in social psychology. Each is organized in six parts, makes liberal use of illustrations, and should make interesting easy reading for the sophomore of average ability. Lindesmith and Strauss present a first venture into the textbook field, whereas Britt's work is a revision of the text first published in 1941.

To begin with a general comment, this reviewer can hardly go along with Britt's appraisal of the situation and prospects of social psychology when he retains his claim that "A comparison of the textbooks published [in this field] since the beginning of 1936 will show enough agreement between most of the authors to deduce that social psychology is 'coming of age.'" (p. 8) On the contrary, the newcomer of the two books adds to the impression, gained on other grounds, that social psychology is actually in a youthful period of seam-bursting growth. Up to now all the texts published in this field since the war have come from the psychological contingent of social psychologists; Lindesmith and Strauss, both sociologists, help to restore a balance in the range of available texts by their distinctively sociological contribution.

"Their point of view," to quote from the preface, "may be expressed in a question: *What are the principle consequences for individual behavior of these two related facts: (a) human beings are language-manipulating animals and (b) human beings live in social groups?*"

Each of the eighteen chapters concludes with a series of provocative quotations and other discussion materials, references cited in the text, and a well annotated carefully selected bibliography. The design of the volume by Stanley Burnshaw, President of the Dryden Press, is noteworthy for its cover and back symbolism which illustrates the manifold roles all integrated within the persons. The use of creative imagination in the publishing of text-books is so rare that this exception calls for commendation and, one might hope, emulation.

On the whole, Lindesmith and Strauss have done a saner, more thoughtful, and more tightly integrated work than most of their text writing colleagues in this field. Their central theoretical emphasis—on the uniqueness of the social psychology of human beings, and the major importance of symbolic communication therein—should be welcomed generally. The main weakness of the work, from this reviewer's point of view, is their failure to acknowledge the problem of values which confronts us all, whether as students, writers or teachers. In this era of private and public soul-searching it would seem that the least one should do is to repeat Lynd's question, "Knowledge for what?" And this, incidently, is exactly what Britt does in the final chapter of his text. Raising this type of question seems to me an essential, perhaps even a crucial, responsibility of the genuine educator.

Turning to Britt's work it should first be pointed out that the organization of the revision exactly follows the original. Since the 1941 version was a popular and widely used text, a detailed appraisal of the work seems unnecessary here.

A comparison of the original with the revision with respect to modifications and deletions, however, throws some interesting sidelights on the applied psychology of social psychologists. For example, of the eighteen original tables the only one which Britt eliminated in the revision was that appearing on page 406 of the original entitled "Salaries of executives in some large corporations and wages in the same industries." To compensate for this loss he inserted an innocuous bar chart on page 436 of the revision entitled "Average salaries of public school teachers, supervisors, and principals, 1939-1940." Other instances of the toning-down process include, for example, elimination of specific reference to Herbert Hoover, (p. 162), to W. J. Cameron of the Ford Sunday Evening Hour, (p. 162), to the Daughters of the American Revolution (pp. 291-2), and a list of "the various kinds of employers known to hire spies," (p. 492).

In brief, Britt seems to have done an excellent job of face-lifting but hardly the complete revision he has claimed.

Wayne University

Edgar A. Schuler

JAMES S. PLANT: *The Envelope*. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950, Pp., 299, \$3.60.)

Writing from his broad experience as the director of the Essex County Juvenile Clinic in Newark, New Jersey, Dr. Plant attempts to "bring together into an intellectually satisfying pattern his intuitions about the child and his sense of constantly shifting environmental pressures", and, in his own words, to bring "the psychiatrist to the realization that the patient is an integral part of his environment". Believing that "social pressures . . . are as important to the individual as the heart and the stomach" he emphasizes the importance of breaking down the barriers between the individual and the social sciences.

Dr. Plant conceives the child as being encased in a psycho-osmotic membrane which he calls the envelope; this envelope being "that part of the personality which is in touch with the environment, but not a tangible material structure". However he compares it theoretically, and favorably, with the cortex in relation to structure, function and development. (Perhaps it is the Cortex.) By means of it, he believes, the personality is able to "shut out large sections of its environment and to translate those parts which it takes in, into usable or understandable material." In other words, by means of the envelope, we are able, according to Dr. Plant, to select what we want from our environment. In this sense it acts as a

line of defense for the individual, enabling him to accept or reject in such a way that his individual goals will somehow be met.

In the present volume the author relates his concept of the envelope to a consideration of twenty-one problems confronting children; and, while he does not attempt to solve them, he does describe how these problems come about, how they change as the child grows and develops, at what ages they are most likely to be observed and how they interact, one with another. Among others, these problems relate to the achievement of a feeling of security, adjustment to authority, the preservation of status, the comprehension of symbols, the development of internal resources and to failure.

Although in his treatment of the twenty-one problems Dr. Plant has given us interesting descriptions of the problems of children brought to a juvenile clinic, it might be well for the reader to remind himself that these descriptions are based on observations of the behavior of unadjusted children. It would seem, then, that the book's greatest contribution lies in helping us to understand how serious unadjustment in children may come about, thereby giving us clues for avoiding it and dealing with it. As the author himself points out he was "interested less in exhaustive analysis than in opening vistas". The idea of an envelope such as he conceives, providing the contact between the individual and his culture, is a provocative one. Perhaps it will become, as the author hopes, "our best approach to the study of the total personality." However at present, he admits, we know very little about it.

Oklahoma A. and M. College

Elsa B. Bate

CARL WITTKE: *The Utopian Communist: A biography of Wilhelm Weitling*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950, Pp., 327, \$4.50.)

ARTHUR E. BESTOR, JR.: *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America 1663-1829*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, Pp., 288, \$3.50.)

These two works are of interest to students of the socialist movement in the United States. Wilhelm Weitling will be remembered as the European journeyman-tailor and 19th century social reformer who, having broken with the Marxian group in Europe, came to America to advance his schemes in what he hoped would be a more congenial environment. As Sombart has pointed out Weitling represents a link between primitive socialism and scientific Marxism and is typical of the thought and attitude of many of the idealists of '48. Unlike Marx and Engels, who knew the proletariat only at second hand, Weitling throughout his life was a member of the working class and was always more keenly conscious

of their aspirations and hopes than the exponents of "Scientific Socialism." Basically optimistic and utopian in his outlook, a reformer rather than a revolutionary, he came to America with high hopes only to have them dashed as completely as his previous aspirations in Europe had been.

Professor Wittke has traced for the first time in English, Weitling's life story with special reference to his American period. This choice of emphasis is a happy one for while Weitling's European activities have been discussed in numerous German works and alluded to in a considerable number of Marxian writing, little has been done to investigate and detail his American adventures. This task has been undertaken by Professor Wittke and he has done it well. The author treats his subject sympathetically and leaves the reader with a sense of understanding Weitling, his virtues as well as his defects, which is after all the hall mark of good biography.

In addition the book opens interesting facets of the utopian movements which flourished in the United States prior to the Civil War. The jealousies and frictions which beset these numerous and confused attempts to establish social justice being well typified in Weitling's experiences with his colony at *Communia*, Iowa.

The work is well footnoted and contains in addition a useful bibliographical note. It is a worthy tribute to a sincere humanitarian of varied interests and skills and of somewhat impractical idealism, yet typical of many of nineteenth century emigrants whose collective contributions have done so much to enrich the social pattern of America.

Professor Bestor's work, *Backwoods Utopias*, covers the period up to 1829 and could well serve as an introduction and background for the American portion of *The Utopian Communist*. The book is a scholarly examination of communitarian attempts to create a new world by establishing small self-contained groups which, by force of example rather than revolution, would accomplish the reformation of society. The author distinguished the development which he calls "Communitarian Socialism" from Utopian Socialism and Communism as these latter terms are currently used by Marxists. He sees Communitarian Socialism developing out of the seventeenth and eighteenth religious sects whose followers abandoned Europe for the greener pastures of the New World. The concept finds its fullest secular expression in the Owenite movement and it is with this development, particularly in America, that the author is chiefly concerned. In his analysis he stresses the interrelation between the earlier religious groups, e. g. the Shakers, and the new secular approach of the Owenites. As the author notes the development of industrialization, following the Civil War, finally sealed the doom of small self-sufficient units as models for wider social reforme yet, as in the case of the

emigrants of '48, the communitarian attempts exerted considerable leavening power over American social concepts.

The book is rendered especially useful by the inclusion in the appendix of a valuable biographical essay plus a chronological listing of communitarian experiments from Plockhoy's *Commonwealth* of 1663 to *Cheltenham* established in 1858. This work as well as the preceding one are both useful reminders that Marxian "Scientific" Socialism was not without competitors during the period of its formulation and that the former did not represent the only alternative open to the men of the nineteenth century.

The University of Texas

H. Malcolm Macdonald

JOSEPH HOWARD PARKS: *John Bell of Tennessee*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950, Pp., 435, \$5.00.)

This biography of John Bell is written in a manner to appeal to the close and careful student of political history, and no strong attempt is made to popularize Bell nor to change any reputation he has acquired. Professor Parks tells the story of the Tennessee politician with emphasis upon the struggles and activities which were the statesman's life from the period of Jackson until Lincoln, and the chief purpose of the author is to present an objective analysis of the various sides of campaigns in Congress and Tennessee taken by Bell, to present an explanation of Bell's views, and to record the resultant triumph or loss of the subject of the biography in the field of national politics.

At the time, the presidency of the Union was a position which could be sought by any man and much of Bell's political maneuvering had that office as its end, and since Bell roved the battlefields from Tennessee to Washington much of the volume is concerned with the activities, views, and ideas of those who opposed or supported Bell. It was a period in which political strength was measured by personal support, and it was necessary for the author to explore the speeches and letters of the hosts in the various political camps in somewhat more detail, almost, than he was able to write of the activities and writings of Bell himself, so that the volume becomes an invaluable contribution to the story of politics before 1860, rather than a biography *per se*.

Incident piles upon incident, and charge and counter-charge appear with such rapidity and profusion that I have the greatest admiration for Professor Parks' ability to thread his way through the politics of the years from 1830 to 1860. Bell's attempt to provide the nation with a Constitutional Union party in the election of 1860 brings forth my own greatest admiration for the man. The presidency, as ever, was his goal in his many political battles, but the spirit and hope of avoiding warfare was basic

in this last campaign and he appears to me to have abandoned finally a characteristic life of intrigue so common throughout his life and to have embarked upon a mission which would have done a great good for the nation if it had been accomplished.

McMurtry College

John M. Weidman

DEAN E. McHENRY: *The Third Force in Canada: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, 1932-1948.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1950, Pp., 351, \$3.50.)

The year 1932 saw the birth in Canada of a new party destined to grow larger and more important than any other Canadian third party has ever succeeded in doing. In a country where a two party system has long been traditional this third force seems almost to have assured itself of a permanent place on the political scene. Although its general policy in socialist, the CCF has modified the traditional socialist ideology to fit Canadian conditions and problems—particularly those of the prairie provinces—and has reintroduced an element of pluralism into socialist practice by its emphasis upon cooperative enterprises. More significantly, it has succeeded where many have failed in bringing together into a common political movement substantial elements of both the farming and laboring communities.

This volume is the second of a series planned by the author on the labor parties functioning within the Commonwealth. The first, on the British Labour Party, was published in England in 1938 and in this country in 1940. Throughout the present work he is careful to show the similarities and differences between British Labour and the CCF; and these comparisons are some of the most illuminating passages of the entire volume.

The book itself has much to commend it. It is a systematic study (made largely on the spot) of the organization, aims and fortunes of the CCF from its inception to 1949. It displays a very painstaking scholarship; its material is well arranged; and, despite his evident sympathy for the movement, the author's principal judgments seem to be very carefully made. There are, however, a few points at which this reviewer found himself challenging an unfortunate exaggeration ("The British Labour Party is substantially democratic The British Conservative Party, on the other hand, is virtually a dictatorship"—p. 31) or an overquick and unsound generalization ("The multiparty system inherently brings instability to parliamentary government"—p. 2).

The book as a whole, valuable though it undoubtedly is, makes rather dreary reading. The author's style is unimaginative and his book is a rather pedestrian account of what could have been an exciting subject. One

suspects that an earnest concentration upon soundness of scholarship has led to an unwillingness to write with feeling about even the most dramatic events.

Professor McHenry calls the CCF the "third force in Canada" and suggests that this movement is to Canada what the other third force is to Europe, namely, a "middle way between the extremes of reaction and revolution." This analogy is deceptive and its meaning unclear, for the CCF does not stand midway between the other two strong groups as does its counterpart in France, but rather to the left of both of them; it is difficult to conceive of the staid and dignified Liberal party as the revolutionary force. But perhaps the other two forces consist of the two older parties on the one hand (reaction) and the Communists on the other (revolution)? The author doesn't say, but if this is what is meant, the point is of slight importance; for the Communist Party is not a major force in Canada. We may be permitted to suspect that what has been sought for here is a catchy title rather than a meaningful analogy. Happily, apart from the title, the point is barely mentioned in the book itself.

This calls to mind however another of the important virtues of this work. The author is at pains to point out the consistent refusal of the CCF to accept Communist support and to emphasize the profound differences between the two groups. No one who reads this book is likely to make the all-too-common error of confusing a democratic socialist party with the forces of international communism.

The University of Texas

William S. Livingston

ROBERT RAY AURNER: *Effective Communication in Business*. (Third edition), (Cincinnati: Southwestern Publishing Company, 1950, Pp., 677, \$4.25.)

The first editions of this general text on letter writing were published under the title, *Effective English in Business*. The new title is indicative of the general trend in the revision—a broadening of the scope of the material and a general modernization. It is, in short, an excellent, up-to-date revision of a proved text.

Dr. Aurner is one of the pioneers in the field of business letter writing. He is thoroughly familiar with the problems the average instructor encounters. The book is written in his familiar, dynamic style. It actually invites reading with its short sections, numerous illustrations and examples, and its lively paragraph titles such as "Why Stock Phrases are Absurd," and "The Case of the Two Rude Salespeople."

The new edition is logically organized. Much of what many considered irrelevant material in the earlier editions has been omitted. The handy grammar review section is now at the end of the book, available for those who wish to use it, but not interrupting the continuity of the basic material.

Dr. Aurner's material on "The Psychology of Tone" (now expanded into two chapters) has long been considered by many veteran teachers as the best available material to give the student a clear idea of why he should use an effective tone and specifically how to go about achieving it.

For those who desire them, problems are included at the end of each chapter, and there is available both an instructors' manual and an optional workbook, the latter prepared by Dr. Turner and Professor Lyda E. McHenry of Wayne University.

University of Oklahoma

Kenneth Baker Horning

BRUNO LASKER (Ed.): *New Forces in Asia*. (Vol. 21, No. 6 in *The Reference Shelf Series*, New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1950, Pp., 237, \$1.75.)

PHILLIPS TALBOT (Ed.): *South Asia in the World Today*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949, Pp., 254, \$4.00.)

Here are two titles to add to the rapidly growing list of books concerning the Far East and South Asia. Both are edited volumes.

Lasker includes a variety of articles and excerpts from recent periodicals and the result is to cover much ground hurriedly in an elementary and introductory manner. The book would be good supplementary material for the beginning world politics course. Arranged between an introduction dealing with the continuing background of Asia problems and a concluding section considering the forces of change and the impact of the West, are units on China, Japan, India and Pakistan, Korea and the Philippines, and Southeast Asia.

The University of Chicago volume gathers together the Harris Foundation lectures delivered there in 1949. Here the specialists on Far East matters—Cora DuBois on cultural background, Kingsley Davis on population, J. S. Furnivall on the problems of the new governments, and a dozen others—dig a little deeper into some of the subjects skimmed over in the first volume. Here is useful material for one already familiar with the area and interested in the thinking and plans of those who have some part in trying to find solutions for the difficulties in Asia.

The problems treated in these books are those appearing again and

again in almost overwhelming numbers and complexity: extreme nationalism, strong socialist tendencies that find Communism (its imperialism disguised) appealing, habits of violence and a lack of respect for law, incredible over-population, inadequate facilities for health and education, insufficient food supply and poor methods of distribution, a pressing need for capital investment in the face of limited native capital and suspicion of foreign capital, a compound of races and religions that confronts attempts at change with prejudice and taboo, the absence of a large or effective middle class, and on and on.

Harold Isaacs, a practicing journalist, contributes one of the most provocative lectures. Considering the virulent nationalism of the new nations of the East, he asks if the world must again endure the growth and the aggressive search for power of a series of new national states, and expresses doubt that the Asiatic nations have the abilities and resources to successfully assert such a nationalism in a world where elsewhere uncurbed nationalism is waning. He is hopeful, it is nothing stronger, that these nations will work together and that the agencies of the U. N. or even the British Commonwealth will offer means of cooperation, so that peoples in the Far East will progress and prosper without feeling that proof of lack of any dependence is so important.

A second point, perhaps obvious, is made by several writers; that is the tendency of the West to view South Asia in terms of military strategy and to consider what may be done to forcefully counter the spread of Communism, without also tackling some of the basic dissatisfactions upon which Communism appeals to the natives.

Finally the role of India concerns these students. Can India guide the new nations into peaceful and cooperative relations with the West, acting as a catalyst to form a common Asian program? Or is India so large, so different in background, that it will appear as a colossus among the smaller states—the unbalancer that by its greater power will foster suspicion, fear, or disunity?

The University of Texas

J. R. Roach

Other Books Received

Anderson, Ronald A.: *Government Regulation of Business*. (Dallas: South-Western Publishing Company, 1950, Pp., 694, \$4.50.)

Atteberry, George C., et al: *Introduction to Social Science* (Volume I and II, Revised Edition). (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950, Volume I—Pp., 819, Volume II—Pp., 823, \$5.00 per volume.)

Becker, Howard: *Through Values to Social Interpretation*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950, Pp., 341, \$4.50.)

Bellak and Abt: *Projective Psychology*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publisher, 1950, Pp., 485, \$6.00.)

Bodde, Derk: *Peking Diary*. (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1950, Pp., 292, \$3.75.)

Bogardos, E. S.: *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (Fourth Edition). (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950, Pp., 543, \$4.50.)

Brady, Robert: *Crisis In Britain*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950, Pp., 730, \$5.00.)

Brown, B. F. and Keenan, J. B.: *Crimes Against International Law*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950, Pp., 226, \$3.25.)

Bye, Raymond T.: *Social Economy and the Price System*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950, Pp., 356, \$3.50.)

Carr, L. J.: *Delinquency Control* (Revised Edition). (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, Pp., 591, \$4.50.)

Committee on Labor Market Research: *Memorandum on University Research Programs in the Field of Labor*. (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950, Pp., 64, NP.)

Commons, John R.: *The Economics of Collective Action*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950, Pp., 414, \$5.00.)

Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Child Welfare Laws of Kentucky*. (Commonwealth of Kentucky: Legislative Research Committee, Information Bulletin No. 4, 1950, Pp., 198, NP.)

Cronin, Rev. John F.: *Catholic Social Principles*. (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Bruce Publishing Company, Pp., 803, \$6.00.)

Edelman, Murray. *The Licensing of Radio Services in the United States, 1929 to 1947*. (Urban: The University of Illinois Press, 1950, Pp., 229, \$2.00.)

Ferenczi, Sandor: *Sex In Psychoanalysis*. (New York: Basic Books Publishing Company, 1950, Pp., 338, \$3.50.)

Gordon, Wendell C.: *The Economy of Latin America*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, Pp., 434, \$5.50.)

Green, A. W.: *The Epic of Korea*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950, Pp., 136, \$2.50.)

Huzar, Elias: *The Purse and the Sword*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950, Pp., 417, \$4.50.)

Kann, Robert A.: *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Hapsburg Monarchy 1848-1918*, Volume I and II. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, Pp., 867, \$12.00 for two volumes.)

Lindsay, Michael: *Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China*. (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1950, Pp., 194, \$2.50.)

Mezerik, A. G.: *The Pursuit of Plenty*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, Pp., 209, \$2.50.)

Moley, Raymond: *Valley Authorities*. (New York: American Enterprise Association, Inc., 1950, Pp., 77, \$.50.)

Newmann, Sigmund: *Germany: Promise and Perils*. (New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1950, Pp., 62, \$.25.)

New York State Library: *The New York State Freedom Train*. (Albany: New York State Library, 1950, Pp., 72, NP.)

Payne, Robert: *Mao Tse-Tung, Ruler of Red China*. (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1950, Pp., 303, \$3.50.)

Peck, Graham: *Two Kinds of Time*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950, Pp., 725, \$4.00.)

Rhine, Virginia (Translator): *Young Communists in the USSR*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950, Pp., 92, NP.)

Roucek, J. S. and Associates: *Introduction to Political Science*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1950, Pp., 696, \$4.75.)

Schapiro, J. Salwyn: *The World in Crisis*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950, Pp., 429, \$5.00.)

School of Public Administration: *Manual of Government Agencies in Puerto Rico* (Executive Branch). (Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1950, Pp., 341, NP.)

Scoville, W. C.: *Capitalism and French Glass-Making—1640-1789*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950, Pp., 210, NP.)

Somervell, D. C.: *British Politics Since 1900*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950, Pp., 265, \$3.75.)

Sonnichsen, L. L.: *Cowboys and Cattle Kings*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950, Pp., 316, \$4.50.)

Stubbs, Stanley A.: *Birds-Eye View of the Pueblos*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950, Pp., 122, \$3.00.)

Thompson, Laura: *Culture in Crisis*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, Pp., 221, \$4.00.)

Toynbee, Arnold J.: *War and Civilization*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950, Pp., 165, \$2.50.)

Trecker, H. B.: *Group Process In Administration*. (New York: The Woman's Press, 1950, Pp., 330, \$4.50.)

United Nations: *A Study of Statelessness*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949, Pp., 190, \$1.25.)

United Nations: *Freedom of Information* (Volume I). (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, Pp., 271, \$3.50.)

Wager, Paul W.: *County Government Across the Nation*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1950, Pp., 817, \$7.50.)

News Notes

Plans for the 1951 convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association are developing. As previously announced, the meeting is scheduled at Austin, on Friday and Saturday, March 23 and 24, and will be held in the Stephen F. Austin and Driskill Hotels, the latter being designated as headquarters hotel. Section chairmen have urged members to respond promptly in making final arrangements for the program, so that the general program may be completed by the deadline.

Dean Robert W. French, of the College of Commerce and Business Administration, Tulane University, has been elected chairman of the seven-man committee on the Southwest Economy, recently appointed by Mr. Leon Keyserling, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Other members include Dr. C. E. Ayres, professor of economics, The University of Texas, and Dean Raymond D. Thomas, Division of Commerce, Oklahoma A. and M. College. Dr. C. A. Wiley, professor of economics, The University of Texas, is serving as a technical adviser to the committee on agricultural economics. Chief functions of the committee will be to determine and survey the opportunities for economic development in the southwest, to identify the major obstacles to such development, and to analyze potentialities for long-term development as a guide for both public and private action.

The Department of Geography, University of Arkansas, is developing a group of new courses to round out a full undergraduate and graduate major leading to the Master's degree. The department is also participating in the formation of a Division of Social Sciences at the University, which has on its agenda for consideration the development of a General Education course in the social sciences.

Dr. Clarence E. Bonnett has been designated Professor of Economics, Emeritus, at Tulane. Having served on the faculty for more than 30 years, Dr. Bonnett is the author of a score of articles and two books in the field of labor economics, and has recently completed two book-length manuscripts on labor management relations and employers' associations.

New staff members in the Tulane College of Commerce and Business Administration include: John M. Erickson, assistant professor of business communications, who has spent some eight years in the insurance business as attorney, adjuster, and manager, and who has served the past two years on the faculty of Defiance College in Ohio; Arnold L. Fellows, associate professor of business communications, who comes to Tulane from the University of Illinois; Dr. Frank L. Keller, associate professor of resources, formerly of the department of geography at Rutgers, who will devote

half-time to the University's Latin American Area Studies Program; Gilbert M. Mellin, assistant professor of economics, formerly on the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh, whose special field of work is in international economics; and Robert M. Robinson, assistant professor of economics, who has served at the University of California and the College of Marin, and who will teach courses in money and banking and in economic principles. A. C. Michaelis, associate professor of management, has returned to the staff after a one-semester leave. J. P. McHan has resigned as assistant professor of economics for further graduate study at New York University, and Edward W. Plodzik, formerly assistant professor of accounting, has accepted a position at Washington University of St. Louis.

Three staff members of the Tulane College of Commerce took part in special conferences last summer. Dean Robert W. French was one of a group invited by Standard Oil Company of New Jersey to participate in the Educators Conference on Employee Relations; Dr. Gerald E. Warren attended the Summer Program for Economists held by Swift and Company in Chicago; and Dr. Howard W. Wissner attended the Business Management Conference sponsored by Chrysler Corporation in Detroit. Dr. Marvin L. Fair, of the same faculty, served as consultant on economics to President Truman's communications policy board in Washington for several weeks during the summer. Dr. Fair is the author of a new book, *The Economics of Transportation*, just released by Harpers.

O. O. Maxfield, of the department of geography, University of Arkansas, is spending the year at Ohio State University in advanced graduate study.

Dr. George W. Stocking, Head of the Department of Economics and Business Administration and Director of the Institute of Social Sciences, Vanderbilt University, is Visiting Distinguished Professor of Economics at The University of Texas this semester. Lawrence C. Taylor, formerly a teaching fellow at Vanderbilt, has been added as instructor in economics at Texas.

Dr. R. H. Montgomery, professor of economics at The University of Texas, is on leave of absence this semester to work on a book. The same department announces the departure of Assistant Professor J. Richard Powell to accept a lectureship at the University of California in Los Angeles. Former graduate students and teaching fellows in the department who have accepted positions elsewhere this year include: Dr. Ernest F. Patterson, who has been appointed assistant professor of economics at the University of Alabama; Robert F. Voertman, who has been appointed instructor at Michigan State College; Robert J. Pogson, instructor at Universidad Autonoma de El Salvador; Harold Shapiro, now teaching at Trin-

ity College, San Antonio; and Norman Pauling, now studying in New Zealand under a Fullbright grant.

Dr. Wendell Gordon, of the department of economics, The University of Texas, has been appointed an editor of the economics section of the *Handbook of Latin-American Studies*. Three staff members of the same institution, Dr. Eastin Nelson, department of economics; Dr. Emmette Redford, department of government; and Dr. R. C. Anderson, department of chemistry, attended the General Education Conference at Florida State University, November 20-22, representing the University's committee on the core curriculum.

Dr. Don L. Bowen, assistant professor of government, University of Oklahoma, has accepted an appointment as administrative assistant to Hon. John Jarman, congressman-elect from the fifth district of Oklahoma, and will go on leave in January 1951 to take up his new duties. Dr. Bowen has devoted the year 1949-1950 to service as acting director of the Oklahoma Legislative Council.

The department of business administration and economics, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, announces the appointment of Robert Q. Massaro, of Denver University, to replace Robert Raymond, who is doing graduate work at Ohio State University; and of Norman O. Miller, University of Oklahoma, to replace Maxwell Dieffenbach, who has returned to private business in Cincinnati.

Dr. Howard S. Dye, department of economics, The University of Texas, taught in the summer session of the University of Southern California this past summer.

The department of government, Southern Methodist University, will teach a course in county government and administration during the spring semester, in collaboration with public officials of Dallas County. The course will be given at the county courthouse in the evening and will be under the general direction of Assistant Professor J. M. Claunch. Professor Claunch attended conferences with public officials in Denver and with staff members of the Institute of Government Management at the University of Denver in November. Dr. W. E. Benton, of the same department, attended the National Conference on Government in Buffalo, N. Y., November 20-22, participating in two panel discussions (the metropolitan county and charters for counties.)

A new Department of Human Relations has been established at the University of Kansas, as an outgrowth of social science departments collaboration in developing human relations as a phase of general education and as an interdepartmental field of graduate study and research. Dr. Hilden Gibson is chairman of the new department.

The University of Kansas has added a curriculum in anthropology, providing for an undergraduate major in that field, effective this year. The work will be under the renamed Department of Sociology and Anthropology, chairman of which is Dr. Carroll D. Clark; courses in anthropology will be taught by Dr. Carlyle S. Smith, Dr. E. Jackson Baur, and Rupert I. Murrill.